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The Classical Weekly

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

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VOLUME XV

NEW YORK
1921-1922

Part II of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, Volume XV, No. 27, Whole No. 423, May 22, 1922.

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The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28 ,1918.

VOL. XV, No. 1 | MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1921 | WHOLE NO. 397

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 1 MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1921 WHOLE NO. 397

PERIODICALS SUPPORTING THE CAUSE OF THE CLASSICS

Every teacher of the Classics ought to be aware of the fact that, in the United States, the two main repositories of the work of productive scholarship in the field of the Classics are the American Journal of Philology and Classical Philology. He should know also that the American Journal of Philology is published at The Johns Hopkins University and that it is now in its forty-second year. For forty long years of its life, its Editor, the Dean of American Classical scholars, was Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve. It is edited now by Professor C. W. E. Miller, assisted by a number of members of the Departments of Oriental Languages, Greek, and Latin of The Johns Hopkins University.

Classical Philology, published at the University of Chicago, is now in its sixteenth year. For the first two years its Editor-in-Chief was Professor Edward Capps, then at the University of Chicago, but since 1908 at Princeton University. Professor Capps was succeeded, in the direction of Classical Philology, by Professor Paul Shorey.

At another time I shall have something to say of other repositories of scholarly articles, such as the Bulletins and Studies published under the auspices of various American Universities.

Every teacher ought to know also The Classical Journal and THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. In theory and in practice, they are devoted more to the pedagogy of the Classics, or to propaganda in support of the Classics, than to research proper in the field of the Classics. Both periodicals, however, have published many articles which, while they did not perhaps advance the bounds of knowledge in a given field, have been of real service by putting together, in an easy and readable form, information on important matters within the classical field. Many of the reviews in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY have certainly been distinct contributions to the subjects treated by the books under review. The Classical Journal, now in its seventeenth year, is edited at present by Professor Frank J Miller, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Arthur T. Walker, of the University of Kansas. For the first six years, the Managing Editor of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY was Professor Gonzalez Lodge, of Teachers' College; for the remaining volumes the Managing Editor has been Professor Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

It may be noted that the University of Chicago Press published, in 1919, a General Index, By Contributors and Subjects, to The Classical Journal, Volumes I - XIII (1905-1918). The Index was compiled by Professor Frank J. Miller. Each volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY has an elaborate Index. Besides it is possible to obtain, from the Managing Editor, copies of two pamphlets, one of which groups by subjects (Value of the Classics, Teaching of the Classics, Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, etc.) titles of articles in Volumes I - IX; the other groups similarly titles in Volumes X - XIII.

The foregoing facts have been set down, not for themselves, but rather by way of introduction to what is to follow. It seems worth while to put together a brief notice of other means which, at different Schools, Colleges, and Universities, are being employed as ministrants to the better teaching of the Classics, and as a stimulant toward a deeper and more intelligent interest in them.

The High School Journal, which is published monthly by the School of Education of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, contains in each issue what is known as The Latin Column. Sometimes the "column" covers a couple of pages. In the issue for April, 1920, for instance, there were two items, one fo half a column, entitled A Carolina Latin Paper, the other an item covering two and a half columns, entitled The Classics in British Education (an account of the pamphlet noticed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.105-106). In the former article mention was made of a publication, in English, called The Latin Bulletin, to appear five times a year, under the auspices of The Mantuan Club of Juniors and Seniors in the High School at Ashville, North Carolina.

The first issue of this Latin Bulletin contained two papers by students, one entitled The Need of the Classics, the other entitled De Roma Aeterna, a Latin version of the Star Spangled Banner. There were also some translations of pieces of Vergil.

In Volume 2, No. 1 there is a statement of the way in which the students of the School are organized into various Classical Clubs. The students of the four uppermost classes are organized into The Mantuan Club, the Caesar Classes into a Club known as the Legio Decima. Other students are brought together into the Societas Latina. Among the things in this number are articles by students, in English, given sometimes in full, sometimes only in part. The themes treated include Ceyx and Halcyone, Virgil's Contemporaries, Travelers in Old Roman Days, Why We Should Study Latin, Roman Meals, Children and Education. This number contains 12 pages.

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In the Sidney Lanier High School at Montgomery, Alabama, there was begun, in November, 1919, a periodical entitled Forum Romanum. Four numbers of this periodical have come into my hands, for November, 1919, January, February, and March, 1920. Each number contains four pages; every part of the number, except the advertisements, is in Latin. The periodical is under the management of members of the Senior class of the School. The contents include little essays about the School life, notes and suggestions of various sorts, attempts to put into Latin matters of public interest (such as the announcement that General Pershing was to visit Montgomery), reference to Red Cross drives, etc. The contributors deserve much praise for their energy, but their Latin leaves a tremendous lot to be desired. Mistakes in the Latin, however, by their very number and magnitude, show clearly that the students are conducting the paper themselves, and that it is not in any sense their teachers' product.

Miss Louise Berrey, head of the Department of Latin at this School, wrote me, in March, 1920, as follows:

> The purpose of the Forum Romanum has been not only to stimulate an interest in Latin, but also to get people with what might be called an aversion for Latin prose to feel and appreciate the simple case relations, for example, dative and accusative.... We know there are many mistakes, both in choice of words and in constructions, but somehow we feel that the purpose of the paper has been achieved. There is much more interest in prose than ever before. Let me say, too, that every article is the effort of some high school child... The two stories, Duo Amici and Regina Bona Russiae, were written by two first year students after four months of study of the language.

In November, 1919, the Classical Club of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, began the publication of an eight-page leaflet called Forum Latinum. Volume 2, No. 4 was published in February, 1921. In this I find the interesting statement that the Forum Latinum had reached a circulation of 1,800 copies. This issue contains also a statement, by the way, to the effect that for the term beginning in February, 1921, there was, in the Boys' High School, an increase of about 15% in the number of students beginning Latin. In the fifth term, Latin is elective in this School; yet there was last year an increase of over 20% in the number of students in that term. The Vergil classes showed an increase of about 10%.

The paper is under the editorial direction of the students themselves. They have the assistance, however, of one or more Faculty advisers. The contents of each number are partly in English, partly in Latin. The Latin contents of the first number contained a Colloquium Auditum in Sala Prandii; an up-to-date version of Cicero, Cat. 1. 1 (a student is asked to explain why he continues to use a 'horse'); odds and ends of humor; a Latin version of America; a statement that Dr. Riess, who is Head of the Department of Classics at the Boys' High School, would like to meet students interested in antiquities, for the purpose of forming groups to visit the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to study ancient life directly from the original monuments and casts; a list of Latin verbs, with their meanings, part of the vocabulary of second term Latin.

Later numbers show the same combination of English and Latin. An interesting feature in those numbers is the presence of illustrations. Some of these are reproductions of ancient things; others are cartoons (parodies of ancient matter). To the former class belongs the reproduction of the graffito which represents an ass or a donkey and a mill, beneath which are the Latin words, Labora, aselle, quomodo ego laboravi, et proderit tibi. An excellent feature is the publication from time to time of paragraphs from classical authors. One such paragraph is entitled Caesar, a Pen Portrait (Suetonius's account of Caesar's physical appearance and of certain of his habits and characteristics). Again, in Volume 1, No. 3, the account of the Werwolf in Petronius, Cena Trimalchionis 61-62, is reprinted, with notes that help to understanding of the text.

Volume 2, No. 4, dated February, 1921, contains on its front cover a cut of the ruins of the Coliseum. On page 6, there are given, from ancient sources, representations of a Roman barber at work, a Roman razor, and a Roman headdress. There is a page which seems to me a waste of good ink and paper, containing alleged cartoons and alleged Latin under the caption Ku Klux Klan. There are Latin jokes, Latin riddles, Roman colloquial expressions, an Oratio Magna Marci Antoni, and allied matters.

(To be concluded) C. K.

VIRGILIAN DETERMINISM

In an interestingly written article entitled Epicurean Determinism in the Aeneid[1] Professor Tenney Frank has attempted to show that the early Epicurean studies and associations of Vergil's youth were not followed, as most modern scholars have held, by a conversion to Stoicism, but continued unchanged, appearing in definite outcroppings all through the Aeneid. So plausible appears the argumentation, but yet, in my opinion, so mistaken are its premises and its results that it seems worth while to reexamine the points raised by the article in its divergence from the accepted view[2].

After a résumé of Vergil's early philosophical training and beliefs the thesis is advanced (116) that the eschatology of Aeneid 6 (which, according to Profes-

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[1] American Journal of Philology 41 (1920), 115-126.

[2] I shall follow, as nearly as practicable, the order of the article under discussion.

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sor Frank, has furnished the chief reason for supposing that Vergil in his maturity rejected Epicureanism for Stoicism)

was adopted as a *mythos* for purposes of plot, and that the poet continued, while writing the Aeneid, in the faith which he had avowed with enthusiasm in the Eclogues and Georgics.

But where is this enthusiastic confession of faith found? On page 115 we are referred to Ecl. 6.31-32 namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent, etc., a passage of very evident atomistic character. But before using this passage as evidence for the views of Vergil himself one must settle the very vexed question of the meaning of the whole poem. Servius (whom elsewhere Professor Frank delights to honor) remarks on verse 72: hoc Euphorionis continent carmina quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum. From this comment Skutsch wished to find in the various songs of Silenus a summary of the works of Gallus, while Cartault suggested that Vergil was here giving a résumé of his readings and studies[3]. These views (and others) may be wrong, but, until the true explanation of the poem is established, this passage cannot safely be adduced to show Vergil's own belief. Other Epicurean traces in the Eclogues I have not been able to find[4]. On the contrary, there is distinct disapproval felt[5] for the rival lover who supposes the gods indifferent to human actions. And if two references to deification (5.56 ff.; 8.46 ff.) be dismissed as mere poetic imagery (together with the list of omens in Georg. 1.463 ff.), what shall we do with the philosophy of the Fourth Eclogue (about which Professor Frank is discreetly silent), with its doctrine of secular repetition and the Golden Age, of sin, and of Fate (46 f.)?

Or let us turn to the Georgics. The only Epicurean passage here cited (page 118) is 2.490 ff.: felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, etc. This is undoubtedly, as all editors have recognized from its thought and Lucretian phraseology, a tribute either to Lucretius (whose works Vergil certainly knew, admired, and imitated) or to some other Epicurean, perhaps, as Professor Frank seems to hold, to Epicurus himself. But we must not forget how Vergil after these lines of laudation continues (2.493 ff.): fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis Panaque Silvanumque senem nymphasque sorores. The life of this religiously-minded[6] countryman, here set in as sharp antithesis to that of the sceptical scientist as that even today at times expressed between 'faith' and 'science' (to the disparagement of the latter), approaches most closely, as Vergil is careful to tell us (2.532 ff.), to that of the Golden Age[7], and is distinguished by just those characteristics which have made Rome great. Even Professor Frank admits (125) that Georg. 1.231-251 has a Stoic coloring, but he says that the passage is not inconsistent with Vergil's Epicurean views[8]. The passage in 4.218 ff. (his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus aetherios dixere, deum namque ire per omnia, etc.) certainly suggests Aen. 6.724 ff. (with the words spiritus intus alit), and, though ascribed to *quidam* rather than vouched for by the poet, is apparently not felt to merit refutation[9]. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice (4.467 ff.), even if it prove nothing in regard to Vergil's own beliefs about the next world, at least contains no hint of Epicureanism. And if any reference to the gods and their influence upon human affairs found anywhere in classical Latin poetry bears the mark of sincerity, it is the address to the *di patrii indigetes* in 1.498 ff. I have dwelt upon these passages in the Eclogues and the Georgics, not because Professor Frank deals particularly with those works, but because I feel that his assumption in regard to them is wrong and also because from them we get a fairer idea of what to expect when we approach the Aeneid.

The appeal of Epicureanism was, we are told (116 f.), that, while it kept its feet upon the ground, it brought "a gospel of illumination to a race eager for light, opening vistas into an infinity of worlds", etc. But, if this be advanced as a reason for its appeal to the poetic nature of Vergil, it must appear remarkable that he made so little use of his opportunity to set forth its teachings. The instances which Professor Frank cites (118) are two passages already discussed (Ecl. 6.31 ff.; Georg. 2.490 ff.) and the song of Iopas at the banquet of Dido (Aen. 1.740). Iopas sings, to be sure, a song of creation, but it contains absolutely no cosmic *doctrine*, either Epicurean or Stoic.

The Epicurean "phrases and notions" which are cited (118) from the Aeneid seem more convincing in the adapted phraseology here given them than in their original context and wording. Thus, according to Professor Frank, "the atoms of fire are struck out of the flint" in Aen. 6.6; yet the Latin gives no trace of 'atoms', but reads *semina flammae*, which seems a pretty close imitation of Od. 5.490 σπέρμα πυρός. Truly we must beware lest we make Homer an Epicurean[10]! Again, says Professor Frank, "atoms of light are emitted from the sun", but the atomism becomes more evanescent than an Epicurean εἴδωλον if we turn to the Latin of the passages adduced (Aen. 7.526 f. aeraque fulgent sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant; 8.22 ff. ubi lumen aenis sole reper cusso aut radiantis imagine lunae omnia pervolitat,

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[3] For these and other views see Schanz, Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur, 2, 1², 45 f. (1911).

[4] Unless 9.5, quoniam Fors omnia versat, be stressed. But these words express a natural and doubtless temporary emotion of the evicted Moeris, and surely not the feeling of the poet himself.

[5] 8.35. [6] 2.527 ff. Compare also 2.473 f., and, for the attitude toward holy days, 1.268 ff. Sacrifices are prescribed (e. g. 1.338) and the paying of vows is assumed (1.437).

[7] For other traces of cyclic theory compare 1.121 ff.

[8] Yet what are we to say of 1.238, munere concessae divom? And Jupiter is elsewhere (1.353 ff.; 4.149) made the cause of phenomena in a manner unlike that of Epicureanism.

[9] In Georgics 1.415 Vergil takes a different view of the spirit within lower animals, but did not even the Stoics the same? Compare Cicero, De Divinatione 1.118.

[10] For this danger compare Cicero, De Natura Deorum 1.41.

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etc.). In 8.320[11], Professor Frank maintains, "early men were born duro robore and lived like those described in the fifth book of Lucretius" (presumably Lucr. 5.1281 ff.), but, although there is likeness between Vergil and Lucretius, the former contains at this point nothing to which the most rigid Stoic need have objected. " . . . there are still compliments for Memmius (V, 117)", but lines 117 ff. merely designate Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus as the ancestors of the Memmii, the Sergii, and the Cluentii, and the motive for this allusion is quite in keeping with similar aetiological details elsewhere in the poem and need carry no trace of Epicurean allusion[12]. Professor Frank quotes the statement of Conington that there are nearly two hundred reminiscences of Lucretius in the Aeneid, and that the reminiscences increase in frequency in the later books. But studies subsequent to those of Conington encourage us to look to Ennius as the real source of many passages where identity is found between Lucretius and Vergil[13], and where borrowings from Lucretius do undeniably occur they are, in the main, those of phraseology rather than of content.

More important is the test of Vergil's philosophy which depends upon his interpretation of fate[14]. Professor Frank writes (119):

Determinism was accepted by both schools but with a difference. To the Stoic, *fatum* is a synonym of providence whose popular name is Zeus. The Epicurean also accepts fatum as governing the universe, but it is not teleological, and Zeus is not identified with it but is, like man, subordinated to it... If then Virgil were a Stoic, his Jupiter should be omnipotent and omniscient and the embodiment of fatum, and his human characters must be represented as devoid of independent power: but such ideas are not found in the Aeneid.

With this definition of what Stoics should have believed let us contrast an ancient statement of what they did believe: Comm. in Luc. 2.306 (=Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta 2, No. 924): et hoc secundum Stoicos qui omnia dicunt fato regi et semel constituta nec a numinibus posse mutari[15]. If the ancient passage be correct, it is unnecessary even to discuss the instances from the Aeneid cited by Professor Frank, on pages 119 f., to illustrate the supremacy of fate over the gods, for this is exactly what we ought to find: hence why should we be surprised when we find it? The difficulty really lies, not with Vergil or even with Stoicism, but with the inherent difficulties in the age-long problem of impersonal determinism, divine will, and human freedom, a puzzle too serious for philosophers far more subtle than was Vergil[16]. Again, some stress is laid (120) upon passages implying the power of the individual to thwart fate (1.299 ff.; 5.700 ff.), but Professor Frank allows even to the Stoics a slight degree of freedom of action (119), and it will be noticed that, in all the passages which he here cites[17], though Vergil may perhaps assert the power of individual choice, yet the action which ensues is strictly in accord with fate, and Jupiter cooperates in executing the decisions of fate. I cannot feel, then, that "The Stoic hypothesis seems to break down completely in such passages".

Still less when I read the Aeneid as a whole, with the evident and inevitable march of its events, can I dismiss all teleological notions. The opening lines alone, which, if any, should express the purpose and the character of the work, indicate this in unforgettable phrases—fato profugus; vi superum; dumcon deret urbem; tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem. If there is no teleology here, where, pray, are we to look for it?

But Professor Frank tells us (121) that, the moment that Aeneas was selected as the hero of the poem, it became necessary to take, along with him, the machinery of the Olympian gods; Vergil was too conscientious in his attempts to restore the atmosphere of the heroic age to dispense with these otherwise unwelcome encumbrances. Book 6, furthermore, was inserted "because the poet needed for his own purpos esa vision of incorporated souls of Roman heroes" (123). True, but why did Vergil need this vision, if not to enhance the reader's realization of the divinely ordained and guided continuity and purpose of the Roman race? To say that Book 6 is syncretistic and not purely Stoic in its philosophy is perhaps also true; it doubtless does not exhibit the Stoicism of Zeno nor yet that of Chrysippus; but Stoicism had had many forms,

[11]So cited; better, 314 ff.

[12]Three cases cited in 118, n. 6 prove little or nothing; two of them are quoted incompletely, the second being so curtailed as to distort the sense.

[13]See especially Wreschnick, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907); Norden, Aeneis, Buch VI[2], 371 (1916).

[14]The word *fatum* occurs in Lucretius five times, *fatalis* once (according to Paulson, Index Lucretianus [1911], in a total of 7,415 lines; in Vergil's Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid (12,913 lines) *fatum* is found 134 times, *fatalis* 12 (according to Wetmore's Index Verborum Vergilianus [1911]). This gives a total for the two words in Vergil of 146 as contrasted with the six cases in Lucretius. If the occurrences in Lucretius were proportional in frequency to those in Vergil we ought, in 7,415 lines, to expect 84 references instead of six. It should be further noted that Lucretius is a philosophical poet arguing against fate, while Vergil is merely an epic poet, who would, in ordinary circumstances, be less likely to deal in such conceptions unless particularly interested in them by reason of his own beliefs or experience. So great frequency in Vergil ought of itself, then, to arouse the suspicion that Vergil had more than an Epicurean interest in fate. Professor Frank holds, however, that many occurrences of the word in Vergil have no philosophical meaning (120, n. 10). This is doubtless true: yet who will determine in a particular case? In 4.696 quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat, he would interpret the passage philosophically, of Dido's thwarting the fates by her suicide, while Henry and Conington--non sordidi auctores naturae verique—take *fato* in a "practical rather than a philosophical sense", of a "natural death", as opposed to an untimely death. Truly the private interpretation of scripture has its dangers! If a philosophical interpretation, however, be sought at this point, the Scholia Danielis will furnish one sufficiently subtle.

[15]Compare also Servius on Aeneid 1.357 (=Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta 2, No. 923): et simul per transitum Stoicorum dogma ostendit, nulla ratione posse fata mutari; Arnold, Roman Stoicism, 199 ff. (1911).

[16]The discussion of the use of *omnipotens* (119) is inconclusive, Professor Wetmore, Index Verborum Vergilianus, cites eighteen instances where it refers to Jupiter (to which we should perhaps add two where it refers to Olympus) and two referring to Juno. I find some clearly referring to Apollo. In any case, as Professor Frank himself admits, the meaning of the term may be more or less relative, and no sound argument, I think, can be based upon it.

[17]Except 4.696, which I have discussed above, in note 14.

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and a follower of Posidonius would, I believe, in Vergil's day have qualified pretty well for membership in the Stoic household of faith.

But, Book 6 is, for Professor Frank, a mere *mythos* like Plato's *mythos* of Er. The Epicureans, he says, allowed their poets much freedom in the use of heterodox material (125), as we may learn from Lucretius (2.655). But the purely figurative use there sanctioned and the largely decorative lines of Lucr. 5.737 are far removed from the serious character of Aeneid 6. Nor is it quite correct to speak (126) of the "blunt statement of Servius (on VI, 893) that the portal of unreal dreams refers the imagery of the sixth book to fiction", for Servius's note gives several confused and inconsistent suggestions. I believe, with Norden[18], that the correct explanation of the ivory gate is that given by the late William Everett[19], and that its significance is primarily temporal, indicating that Aeneas left the underworld before midnight[20]. Though there is doubtless much, then, in Book 6 which is not to be taken as the exact and dogmatic belief of Vergil (as the eschatology of Plato's Phaedo was not considered by its author as precise and definite), yet we are unjustified in explaining the whole book away as a mere fiction of the literary imagination.

Professor Frank says little or nothing of the character of Aeneas. It is a large subject and need not here be discussed save to say that perhaps nowhere in Roman imaginative literature have we a better incarnation of the Stoic ideal, in which both the virtues and the defects of that conception are fully illustrated. This is to be seen at every turn, but particularly in Book 4. The mere mention of a few phrases is enough: ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat (331-332); me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas, etc. (340-341); Italiam non sponte sequor (361); tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas; mens immota manet, lacrimae volvontur inanes (448-449)[21]. It would be tempting to contrast Dido with Aeneas and to find in her the embodiment of Epicurean ideals, but I do not desire at this time to press this point.

Vergil deliberately selected, then, in the composition of the Aeneid, a theme inseparably entangled with the idea of a purposeful, divinely appointed destiny, and depicted his hero as a typical Stoic might well have been shown. That one who was an Epicurean at heart might have selected such a theme and so treated it is, of course, a physical possibility, just as it is possible that a Unitarian might choose as the subject of a great poem the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but the opposite probabilities are so overwhelming that an uncommon burden of proof rests upon him who would reverse the accepted interpretation.

Other Romans had been Epicureans and had later rejected the faith—witness the case of Cicero[22]—, and if we read the philosophical works of Cicero we may get some idea of why they did so. What Vergil's motives for the change were we may only infer. The part, however, which he seems to have played in the religious restoration under Augustus agrees more exactly with the figure of a Stoic than with that of an Epicurean[23]. Donatus remarks (Vita, 35): anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo inposituras Aeneidi summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare, ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret. What philosophy? A return to the villula Sironis, Professor Frank would probably say. But may we not more probably conjecture that it was to a further study of Stoicism, perhaps in the endeavor to work out more completely the problems of fate and eschatology which are, after all, so roughly sketched in the Aeneid?

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

[18]Aeneis, Buch VI[2], 348. [19]The Classical Review 14 (1900), 453 f.

[20]Just as the entrance took place at dawn (255), and midday was reached at verses 535 f.

[21]Arnold, Roman Stoicism, 391, remarks that this last line sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism.

[22]For Horace's later rapprochement with Stoicism see Arnold, Roman Stoicism, 389.

[23]Compare Boissier, Le Religion Romaine[4], 1.221 ff. (1900). He gives a detailed and excellent treatment of the theology of Vergil. In the present article, I have, from limits of space, confined myself chiefly to the points directly raised by Professor Frank. On page 230, note 1, Boissier has some pertinent remarks directed against those who have tried to find in the Aeneid the traces of Epicureanism.

REVIEW

Solon the Athenian. By Ivan M. Linforth. University of California Publications in Classical Philology 6. 1-318. November, 1919.

This book, says the author (iii), "falls into two distinct parts, a biography of Solon and an edition of the fragments of his poems". He should perhaps have said three parts, if the dictum attributed to Professor Kittredge is accepted, "Anyone can write a book; it takes a scholar to write an article", since Professor Linforth's well printed volume contains also nine Appendices. And, seeing that the edition is copiously annotated and accompanied by an opposite page translation into English, it puts into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon reader, whether he knows Greek or not, an easy means to form his own impression of the work and the ideas of the thoughtful poet whom Lord Acton calls "the most profound political genius of antiquity". That is a substantial service.

Professor Linforth arranges the fragments according to the epoch of the ancient authors through whose quotation of them they have reached us, including in each instance the accompanying comment, where any exists. This has the obvious drawback of disassociating parts of the same poem, while there is not much that is positive to commend it. It has the negative advantage, however, of enabling the editor to print the fragments on some principle, and with their non-Solonian context, without having to combine them

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with one another in oftentimes dubious wholes. The text calls for little comment. One conjecture the editor himself offers — with commendable modesty — the substitution of μαίωνται for the manuscript reading ιμ ὧσιν in Frag. XL, 111. Seeing that Krates in his parody of the poem uses this word (μαιόμενος) and that the manuscript reading does not make sense, Professor Linforth may be right. The out about it is that one does not see how such corruption of the original text as Professor Linforth's conjecture involves could have occurred, since a marginal gloss does not ordinarily yield us an unintelligible word. The translation runs smoothly enough and can be read with comprehension by one unacquainted with the language of the original. It does not have the supreme excellence of stylistic equivalence, but this, as Tacitus says of the mixed constitution, laudari facilius quam evenire potest.

Towards the literary sources of Solon's life and work Professor Linforth's attitude is that they have in fact little value when uncorroborated by Solon's own words. He, accordingly, shares the critical standpoint of Beloch and his school, and differs from them mainly in refraining from offering a theory of his own for the one he discards. Two quotations, from pages 4 and 6, show his attitude:

> . . . We certainly cannot push back the possibility of a written record of any sort about Solon beyond the middle of the fifth century B. C. at the earliest; but Solon himself lived in the first half of the sixth century. . . . we can accept little besides what we know was learned from the poems and the official records.

Professor Linforth believes that there was a well recognized collection of poems by Solon in the first half of the fifth century B. C.; he holds that the life of Solon was known by the ancients and can be known by us only through his poems.

This postulated, the real difficulty in dealing with Solon is to determine how much of what the ancient tradition hands on to us is based upon poems lost in postclassical times, how much is based upon laws of Solon which were still known, though already in Aristotle's time they were no longer used, and how much is pure legend — stuff that belongs to the cycle of the Seven Wise Men and the constitutional controversies of Athens and the schools of philosophy. Professor Linforth makes his course safer by avoiding the shallows of probabilities, but in science, as in life, a resolute balancing of probabilities is always necessary.

Naturally the poems of Solon did not contain a draft of Solon's constitution: this he could assume that the Athenians to whom he addressed his verses knew from other sources. Inferences from Solon's own words, therefore, cannot in the nature of the case yield the plan of government he inaugurated—as Aristotle reveals to our sorrow. And the weakness of Aristotle's Polity of the Athenians is also a signal weakness of Professor Linforth's book. We have in it no synthesis of Solon's constitutional work. Had Professor Linforth thought out more cogently the implications of the isolated facts we possess regarding the public law of Athens before and after Solon, he would perhaps have spared us his suggestion as to the means employed by Solon for <re> gaining Salamis. If the Athenian hoplites had failed in the war with Megara over the island, there is little likelihood that 500 men "of the lower classes", "little better than serfs", however great their inducements, would have changed the military balance. Such volunteers must have been worse than useless in a struggle against trained heavy-armed troops.

Of the nine Appendices the least satisfactory is Appendix 4 — The Laws and the Axones. It should have started with the definitions reached by Wilhelm in his Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde, 229 ff., Über die Öffentliche Aufzeichnung von Urkunden, and should have taken account of the distinction between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα, drawn clearly e. g. by Francotte, Melánges de Droit Public Grec, 1 ff. It is of some importance in this connection that the Athenian *ecclesia* at all times lacked legislative powers. The νόμοι were not so easily changed in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. as Professor Linforth thinks. Professor Linforth does not indeed follow Beloch and De Sanctis in making Draco a serpent god: but he leaves to Draco the rôle of formulating laws regarding homicide alone, so that "it remained for Solon to draw up a genuine code and earn the name of father of Athenian laws (Plat. *Symp.* 209 d)".

That there is room for uncertainty here must be admitted. Aristotle, for example, in his first draft of the Polity of the Athenians, attributed to the thesmothetes the writing out and publishing of the laws. Draco was apparently overlooked and the code given to Solon. On interpolating his mass of misinformation about Draco, however, Aristotle made the latter the first legislator. It seems to me probable that, if Draco issued instructions for magistrates and other organs of government to guide them in handling cases of homicide, he issued instructions for them in other matters as well. He thus was the first to issue in written form a law code: the thesmothetes in earlier days had simply 'determined, for the guidance and control of the king, polemarch', and archon, the customs by which these magistrates rendered decisions. Solon recast the State by issuing laws "which", as he himself claimed, "showed equal consideration for the upper and lower classes, and provided a fair administration of justice for every individual" (so Professor Linforth translates the words of Solon).

Professor Linforth's book is a good honest scientific effort, vigorous in style and penetrating in analysis, that falls short of highest distinction through distrust of the constructive imagination and a certain impatience with finespun arguments.

W. S. FERGUSON
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB.

The New York Glassical Club held its final meeting for the year 1920-1921 on May 7, at the Metropolitan Museum. After the reports of officers and of chairmen of various committees had been presented, the following officers for 1921-1922 were unanimously elected: President, Dr. A. A. Bryant, De Witt Clinton High School, Vice-President, Professor Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. George H. Beal, De Witt Clinton High School, Censor, Miss Margaret Y. Henry, Wadleigh High School.

Dr. Clarence Dickinson, Choir Master and Organist of the Brick Presbyterian Church and of Union Theological Seminary, delivered a fascinating discourse on Our Musical Heritage from Greece. The address was enlivened by illustrations both pictorial and musical, the latter in the form of songs by Miss Josephine Garrett, accompanied on the harp by Miss Marietta Bitter. The musical selections, which served as illustrations of the various Greek scales or 'modes', included two hymns to Apollo, a melody on the familiar Carpe Diem theme, preserved through an inscription on a tomb of the first century after Christ, and an ode to Calliope, of a century or so later. Of this ode to Calliope an ancient Roman transcription was discovered, by the father of Galileo, in a manuscript. Dr. Dickinson then traced the development of the modern organ from the old pipes of Pan. The simple syrinx was early followed by a double flute. Then appeared pipes not blown, but provided with bellows trodden by a slave—in other words, a small portable organ. Pagan antiquity also knew water organs and pneumatic organs; but the prototype of the organ of to-day is supposed to have been the invention of St. Cecilia, and was very common in early Christian Churches.

Organs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance included the small Portative, often carried in processions, and the Positive, which differed from the Portative in that it was kept in a fixed position. A special form of Portative, which was used to regulate the choir, was known as the Regal; when made in the form of a book, it was called the Bible Regal. Particularly interesting is the development of the keys, which were originally so large that they had to be beaten with the fists; of the stops, by which the sound, at first overwhelmingly loud, might be modulated; and of the pedals, including the 'thunder pedal'. As Dr. Dickinson said in conclusion, the organ of to-day is but a giant syrinx.

At luncheon, a vote of thanks was tendered to the retiring officers; the thanks of the Club, expressed in Latin, as presented by Professor Knapp, were voted to Mr. Dickinson, and to the Misses Garrett and Winter; Mrs. McGiffert read several of her poems, of classical content; and, finally, Professors Whicher and McCrea, soon to depart for Rome to take up their duties at the American Academy there, addressed the Club, after which resolutions of greetings to them in Latin, prepared by Professor Knapp, were passed.

The Latin resolutions are as follows:

DICKINSONIO SUO, VIRO ILLUSTRISSIMO, DOMINELLIS GARRETT ET WINTER, S. P. D. SOCIETAS CLASSICA NEOEBORACENSIS

Quod nostrum omnium ad unum unamque et aures et mentes tantopere delectarunt Dominus ille Dickinsonius verbis scitissimis eruditissimisque de rebus musicis a temporibus antiquis usque ad nostra tractatis, Dominella Garrett carminibus Graecis voce canora redditis, Dominella Bitter lyra hodierna peritissime percussa, nos igitur eis non modo gratias habemus, sed etiam, quantum verba mera possunt, gratias maximas agimus et persolvimus.

ET WHICHER ET MCCREA SUIS, QUONDAM PRAESIDIBUS, SEMPER AMICIS, S. P. D. SOCIETAS CLASSICA NEOEBORACENSIS

Sic vos diva potens Cypri, sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, ventorumque regat pater, obstrictis allis praeter Iapyga, navis, quae tibi creditos debes finibus Italicis nostros amicos, incolumes eos, precamur, reddas nobis ad patriam nostram eorumque, ut iterum iterumque eos salvos sospitesque apud conventus nostros videamus audiamusque.

HUNTER COLLEGE E. ADELAIDE HAHN

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES

The meeting of The Classical Association of England and Wales, in which the American Philological Association had been invited to share, took place at Cambridge, August 2-6. After a welcome by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, and a greeting from the American Philological Association, presented by Professor Charles Forster Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, and the reading of a message from Dean West, on behalf of the American Classical League, Dr. Walter Leaf gave his Presidential Address. His subject was Classics and Realities, a theme on which no one is better qualified to speak than Dr. Leaf himself, equally eminent as banker and as scholar. He referred, at the outset, to a very successful commercial company in London, of whose four directors three are ex-Fellows of Trinity College. He said that the nadir of education in England was reached at a meeting at Burlington House during the Great War, when it was declared that nothing but science—poison-gas, fats, etc.—could win the war, and there was much jeering at a statesman who did not know the origin of glycerine. This was a conspicuous instance of herd-instinct. But there was now a reaction from that view, shown e. g. by the Report of the Prime Minister's Committee on Classics in Education. It was very interesting to see in the Report evidence of a demand for the Classics and classical education coming from the 'workers' themselves. The Classics must cease to be a luxury; they must become a necessity; and must have nothing to do with the 'classes'. The power of putting one's self in the other man's place is the secret of dealing with men. Classical training is needed, especially when the man speaks another language. The demand for men who can be trusted to negotiate with men in other languages is unlimited. Premature specialization is a mistake. Dr. Leaf said he took as his text a statement on page 11 of the Report referred to above: "There is no safe foundation for the continued life of any study except a spontaneous and widespread curiosity". There is need of a curiosity which compels men to go on adding to the sum of human knowledge; therefore we must insist that our study shall have its place among the others. Historical science is most important. Included within the scope of that science are the Classics, which deal with a moment when the power of self-expression was almost abnormally present. They are no mere offshoot, but are in the direct line of human growth. On these broad lines the study of the Classics is being pressed. The language of Homer is as living as that of Racine or Goethe. There can be no final Greek history any more than there can be a final translation of Homer. Each generation must have its own. The last had problems of democracy, dealt with by Mitford, Thirlwall, Grote. Now the problems are economic. Also there are fresh materials, travel, exploration, etc., at least as fast as they can be dealt with. The science which deals with all this must needs be living. Hittite sculpture is just

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as vivid as a chemical formula. By this contact with reality every science must be judged.

The standard of research was never higher than it is to-day. Grammar cannot rightly be despised, when it is not an end in itself, but is rather a way to a knowledge of men who in a spiritual sense are the fathers that begat us. Dr. Leaf declared that he had constantly found points of contact with the Classics in his daily life. The rest of his address he devoted to two illustrations of this sort of contact. The first was an epigram of Theocritus, apparently written as the advertisement for a banking-house: 'To natives and to strangers this bank gives equal dealing. . . . . Caicus pays foreign moneys at request, even by night'. This opens up very interesting questions concerning ancient banking, exchange, possibility of letters of credit, etc. The second instance was the interesting history of a great banking-house at Assos, of which Hermias, the friend of Aristotle, became the head. This history was recently made much clearer by the discovery of a papyrus. Dr. Leaf said he felt a professional pride in Hermias.

The afternoon session of August 3 was assigned to a debate on The Best Method of Strengthening the Classics in English and American Education. Professor Harrower, of Aberdeen, who opened the debate, gave a very interesting and witty account of the problems of Greek at Aberdeen University, which would be much appreciated by University teachers in America. He distributed copies of a circular on the Course in Greek History, Literature and Art in Aberdeen University for non-Greek students. He dealt with various suggestions that had been made to aid the cause of Greek, and showed their insufficiency. He also made constructive suggestions, based on the experience of Aberdeen University, which there is not space to summarize here. The debate was carried over to the next afternoon. Among the many participants was Dr. Mackail. He spoke of the fifty-seven recommendations at the end of the Report referred to above, and urged all upholders of the Classics to concentrate upon three points, working (1) that Latin shall be a normal subject of the curriculum for all pupils in Public and Secondary Schools; (2) that Latin shall be retained or restored as a necessary subject in all Arts courses; and (3) that all teachers of Latin shall have a knowledge of Greek. The saving of the *study* of Greek would best be secured by (3); this opens the possibility of introducing Greek again in Schools. Dr. Mackail declared that the prospects of the Classics were never higher. All the materials of education, science included, are in the melting-pot. The Association, he said, can help in forming public opinion. We should show our faith by our works.

Professor Kenyon, in closing the debate, asked every one to study the Classical Report. Formerly Classics were protected. Now they are not protected anywhere, whereas other subjects are protected. Testimonials to the value of the Classics are available; therefore we have a right to appeal to the public not to let this valuable element in education perish.

On the evening of August 3, at a meeting in the Archaeological Museum, Mrs. Strong gave a most interesting illustrated lecture on The Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore, and Dr. Van Buren one on The Characteristics of Some Ancient Italian Cities.

At the morning session on August 4, Professor Housman read an extraordinarily brilliant paper on The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism. Dr. Conway, speaking of Livy as a Critical Historian, said that his subject had been suggested by a remark in the Presidential Address delivered at Newcastle by the late Dr. W. Warde Fowler, to the effect that the imagination of the Romans exercised itself chiefly on great historical figures; hence he had turned to study again the early books of Livy. No one, he said, has ever claimed that Livy had the interest in small things that modern historians show. The discovery of ancient humanity is the object of classical study. We may thankfully accept what specialists can give, but we must always keep before us the great end and aim of our studies. Movements rather than people interested nineteenth century historians. They were not interested primarily, as Livy was, in men and women. Discussing the charge of carelessness so often made against Livy, Dr. Conway gave instances where the carelessness was that of modern critics—e. g. Madvig and Mommsen—, not that of Livy himself. He next considered the care and insight of Livy in the study of character, e. g. in his treatment of the character of Scipio Africanus, the central figure of fourteen books, who illustrates the strength and the weakness of the Republic. We could not have reached our present verdict of Scipio without Livy. From Polybius we should have had an erroneous idea, wanting in light and shade.

On this day, too, Professor Calhoun, of the University of California, read a paper on The Early History of Crime and Criminal Law in Greece, and Mr. Cornford discussed The Unconscious Element in Literature and Philosophy.

On August 5 the following papers were presented: Elegiac Style, by Professor A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College; After Alexander, by Dr. T. Glover; Sappho and Timas, A Footnote in the History of Greek Poetry, by Mr. Edmonds; The Brighter Aspects of Merovingian Poetry, by Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University. The last named paper, which was read by proxy, described the poetry and the travels of Fortunatus, who flourished in the sixth century.

The last event of the meeting was a 'movie' production of the Oresteia of Aeschylus, as performed at Cambridge last December, with a lecture by Mr. J. Sheppard. This was so popular that a second performance had to be given.

There is no space to mention the various delightful entertainments. In conclusion, it may be remarked that opportunities were afforded of visiting the collection of ancient gems at Corpus Christi College, and of seeing some of the Greek and Latin manuscripts at the University Library.

Lord Milner was elected President for the coming year. The next meeting is to be held in January, at London.

BARNARD COLLEGE GERTRUDE HIRST

HORACE, SERMONES 1.3.29-34 AGAIN A MATTER OF STYLE

To the examples of the repeated adversative conjunction, given by Professor Knapp in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.153-154, we may add the following: 1 Corinthians 7.11: And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

In Clifton Chapel, by Henry Newbolt, we find the following:

God send you fortune: yet be sure,
Among the lights that gleam and pass,
You'll live to follow none more pure
Than that which glows on yonder brass.
'Qui procul hinc', the legend's writ—
The frontier grave is far away—
'Qui ante diem periit:
Sed miles, sed pro patria'.

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The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, NO 3 MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1921 WHOLE NO. 399

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 3 MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1921 WHOLE NO. 399

THE TRAGEDY OF LATINUS[1]

Even a casual reader of Vergil's Aeneid does not fail to recognize, among the many evidences of the poet's familiarity with Greek tragedy, the Bacchic frenzy of Amata and her Latin women and the suicide by hanging which ends the life of the unhappy queen[2]. A more thoughtful reader notes also how tragically the story ends for the modest princess, Lavinia; for, as Mr. Warde Fowler points out[3], it was probably a genuine love-match between Lavinia and Turnus. Therefore, when her beautiful, impetuous young lover is slain and leaves the girl to be the bride of Aeneas, middle-aged and *pius*, one feels with fresh poignancy the cruel lot of princesses, ancient and modern. But most tragic of all is Latinus, whose clear and correct convictions always just fail to materialize in action; aghast and hesitating still he stands at his last appearance in the story (12. 656-658). All his impressive grandeur becomes abject and pitiable helplessness when once he ceases to be ruling *in placida pace*.

But, even though one may have felt a tragic quality in all the members of this family, including the only son who had died in youth, one does not ordinarily realize how dramatic is the form in which Vergil has cast their story. Almost of itself the tale of the house of Latinus falls into a tragic drama in five acts. It supplies to the latter half of the Aeneid[4] what the Dido story contributed to the earlier half, and both tragedies follow with perfect naturalness in the wake of a hero whose almost superhuman singleness of purpose keeps him to the goal set by fate. The Latinus tragedy is more thoroughly wrought into the fabric of the Aeneid than is the episodic Dido story. On the very night of the fall of Troy the shade of Creusa foretells (2. 780-784) the long wanderings which are to end in Hesperia by Lydian Tiber, where a prosperous kingdom and a royal bride are already prepared for Aeneas. There is not one of the first six books of the poem in which we do not hear more or less of the goal of the Trojans, the city Lavinium, the *gens dura atque aspera cultu* which must be conquered in that Western land, so that, when the Latinus-drama opens in Book 7, we know at once that we have finally reached the scene of those events foretold from the beginning of the wanderings.

I have said that the story of the house of Latinus falls almost of itself into a tragic drama in five acts. The reason why this fact does not swiftly disclose itself to the reader is that, in their connection with the whole poem, the events involving Latinus's family are necessarily rather long-drawn-out, and it is only in a rapid reading of the latter six books that one becomes aware of the drama which they include; whereas the Dido story is much more compactly narrated, all its essential parts being closely knit together in Book 4 and a part of Book 1. From the following outline of the drama which can be constructed about Latinus on the basis of Vergil's narrative, it will be apparent that the compiler of such a drama need make only a few changes in the Latin poet's own words, changes so slight and insignificant as to be practically negligible.

The setting of the drama is given in a prologue of sixty-four lines, early in Book 7 (36-40; 45-84; 96-106; 148-155), relating the essential facts about all the principal characters: Latinus, his origin and his status; the portents involving his daughter's future; Amata's passionate support of the suitor, Turnus; the landing of Aeneas and the sending of one hundred Trojan *oratores* to Latinus, to bear gifts and to ask that a peaceful reception to Latium be granted to the strangers.

Act I consists of two scenes, the first in the ancient audience-chamber[5] of the Latin kings. In the first scene, Latinus, sitting on his throne, has summoned to his presence the Trojan *oratores* (7. 192-193). He asks them (195-198) why they have come to Ausonia. He bids them (199-211) accept hospitality from the descendants of Saturn; it was from these fields that their ancestor, Dardanus, had emigrated Eastward. Ilioneus, in his accustomed rôle as spokesman for the Trojans, replies (213-248), telling of their origin, their wanderings, their leader, of the great cataclysmic war in which Europe and Asia had met, of the desire of the Trojans for a scanty abode on this shore they have at last reached, for only in Latium are they permitted by

[1] This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Hunter College, April 23, 1921.

[2] In his recent work, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie (Paris, 1919), Carcopino argues (pages 363-387) that Vergil has borrowed from a priestess of the early cults of Lavinium the name and the traits of Amata, and that the orgies over which the queen presides are taken from a local festival, the Liberalia of Lavinium, in which a goddess of fertility was worshipped by maidens and had as her symbol a divine serpent. The parallels in appearance and behavior between this early priestess and Queen Amata are ingeniously worked out, but they are pushed to an extreme limit. Carcopino himself claims nothing more than that these rites furnished Vergil with 'local color' in the Amata episode; he seems not to question the influence of Greek models (363-364).

[3] The Death of Turnus, 40-41.

[4] Probably no one will deny that Turnus is *the* tragic figure of the last six books of the Aeneid (on this point see Professor E. K. Rand's paper, Vergil and the Drama, The Classical Journal 4.51-61, especially 56-58, 60). Moreover, Vergil's dramatic sense is everywhere apparent in his treatment of Turnus, but Turnus's story does not fall into the form of a tragic drama to any such extent as does the Latinus story. In a word, to one making, as I am in this paper, a point of Vergil's technique, the Latinus story is far more significant than is that of Turnus.

[5] Of the building in which this chamber was we have a detailed description in 7. 168-186. It was the palace of Picus, partly *curia*, partly *templum*, and was situated on the highest ground of the city. It is not plain whether or not the palace of Latinus which is the site of Act I, Scene 2 (7. 341 ff.) was connected with this building, or was an entirely different building.

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the Fates to rest. After careful thought (249-258) Latinus joyfully grants their request, accepts their gifts, and declares his belief that Aeneas is the husband destined for his daughter (259-273). He dismisses the *oratores* with the gift of a chariot and a pair of fire-breathing steeds for Aeneas, and with sleek, richly-caparisoned horses for all the *oratores* (274-285).

In Scene 2 Amata enters, already slightly under the influence of the Fury, Allecto, whom Juno has sent (7. 323 ff.) to sow discord and to cheat the Trojans of their longed-for rest. Amata tearfully protests (357-379) to Latinus at giving their daughter to exile Trojans, at breaking his word plighted to Turnus, who can, quite as truly as Aeneas, claim foreign origin, if the Fates require this. Failing to move her husband, and being more and more permeated by the influence of the Fury, the maddened queen rushes through the city to the forest, where she will hide her daughter (375-388). The Latin women, also maddened, follow Amata, who carries a blazing torch and, crying *Euoe Bacche*, bids her train join her orgies (389-405)[6].

In Act II we have a complete and dramatic reversal of the situation presented in Act I. The first of the two scenes takes place at midnight in the lofty chamber of Turnus at Ardea (7. 406-414)[7]. The Fury, Allecto, appears to him in a dream. She has assumed the form of a wrinkled old woman, Calybe, priestess of Juno; her white hair is bound with a fillet and with sacerdotal olive (415-420). She warns Turnus (421-434) that Latinus is discarding him for a strange son-in-law, that Turnus must arm himself and show his real power to Latinus. With characteristic impatience the youth bids the old woman stop inventing fears, since royal Juno is not careless of his interests; let Calybe mind her temple-duties and leave wars for warriors (436-444). Then the Fury in the old woman blazes up (445); the young warrior is terrified at her flaming eyes and the hissing serpents that raise themselves in her hair (446-451). As she announces her true nature and fixes her smoking torches in his breast, the maddened youth awakes and rushes forth, calling for his arms and his men and declaring that he is a match for both Trojans and Latins (452-470).

The second scene of Act II takes place before the palace of Turnus. A company of shepherds enter, bearing the dead bodies of Almo and Galaesus (7. 573-575), entreating the gods and calling Latinus to witness what has happened. He appears from the palace, and one of the shepherds tells[8] about the wounding of Sylvia's pet stag and the resulting fight between Trojans and Latins (483-504; 519-539). Turnus rushes in and cries that the Trojans are being called to a share in the kingdom, while he is being repulsed (577-579). All surround the palace and demand war (583-585). Firm as a rock at first Latinus ultimately yields and cries:

'Broken, alas! by fate are we and borne along by the blast of the storm. You, O my wretched people, shall pay the penalty for this with accursed blood. For you, O Turnus, impious thought, for you sad punishment shall be in store and with your vows will you honor the gods too late. For me, my rest is secured. I am on the harbor's edge. Of a happy death am I being robbed'.

Then the king shuts himself up in the palace and abandons control of things (586-600). The gates of war are opened and clans gather for the great conflict (601-817)[9].

Act III, though the longest of all the acts, consists of a single scene in the palace of Latinus. The Latini have suffered defeat in the great battle of Book 10. The armistice which Aeneas has granted (11. 100-138) for the burial of the dead is not yet over. In the city women and children are weeping and cursing the war and the marriage of Turnus; he, they say, should fight it out himself (11. 213-219); Drances is especially vehement in this demand (220-221). Others, however, take Turnus's part, as a result of the influence of the queen and the fame of his own brave deeds (222-224). In the midst of this tumult *legati* arrive, bearing Diomede's unfavorable reply to the Latin request for aid against the Trojans (225-230). *Deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus* (231); he summons many leaders to a council and presides *haud laeta fronte* (234-238). He bids (238-240) Venulus tell everything that Diomede had said. Briefly, the Greek had refused to help against the Trojans because he and all who ever had opposed them had found them such terrible foes; he advised the *legati* to bear to Aeneas the gifts which they had brought to him and to be warned by the testimony of one who knew whereof he spoke (252-293). When the murmur of the people subsides (296-300), Latinus speaks (301-335) from the throne, regreting that they must deliberate about their policy when the enemy is already at their gates. He blames no one for the situation; he is himself still uncertain what to do, but he will set forth what seems to him wise. He would offer the Trojans this choice, land on which to settle, or ships in which to sail away from Latium. This offer he would make through one hundred *oratores*, *prima de gente*, bearing gifts of gold and ivory and the *sella* and the *trabea*, *insignia* of the Latin power.

Then Drances, whose envy of Turnus goads him on, warmly supports this proposition of the king (334-335), and attacks Turnus as the cause of all their troubles (346-375). 'The war has been for Turnus's personal, selfish ends. Why should so many men die for him? Let Turnus fight for himself!'. At these words the *violentia* of Turnus breaks forth (378-444) against 'the windy wordiness of Drances and his faintheartedness. The Latins may yet win the day. Even if Diomede refuses aid, there are Messapus and Tolumnius and many other leaders, especially the Volscian Camilla with her gleaming squadrons. But, if the Trojans desire a combat between Aeneas and Turnus, Turnus is ready for that'.

[6] Dramatic force is gained by thus compressing the action of these thirty lines (7. 375-405), and no real violence is thereby done to the narrative.

[7] This is the only scene which does not occur in Latinus's city or close to its walls.

[8] In the Aeneid this narrative is related by the poet.

[9] The conclusion of this scene can be made more or less elaborate according to the period of drama which one has in mind.

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While this dispute is going on, word comes (445-450) that the Trojans are drawn up in line from the Tiber and the Tuscans are descending through the plain. There is great confusion, a hasty call to arms by warriors, a tremulous weeping of the *patres* (451-458). Turnus, seizing the critical moment, rushes from the council, with these brief but scornful words—cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes: illi armis in regna ruunt (459-461). The meeting is broken up by the departure of Latinus, accusing himself of not having received Aeneas as his son-in-law (469-472). The trumpet-call to battle sounds, a procession of women passes, going to the temple of Pallas and chanting a prayer to her (473-485)[10].

Act IV shows the palace of Turnus again, just after the second great defeat, described in Book 11. Turnus sees (12. 1-9) that the time for his single combat with Aeneas has come. Excitedly he addresses Latinus (10-17), saying that there is no delay in Turnus, no excuse for the Trojans to break their contract; Latinus must sacrifice and seal a treaty; Turnus will send Aeneas down to Tartarus or else Aeneas shall be victor and have Lavinia as his wife. Quietly Latinus reasons with Turnus (19-45), reminding the youth that he has a splendid realm from his father, Daunus, which he himself has increased by victories. Latinus is willing to give him gold and there are other highborn virgins in Latium besides Lavinia.

'It had been against the will of heaven for Latinus to give his daughter to any of the Italian nobles; weakness had caused him to yield to the tears of Amata[11] and all the disasters of the succeeding conflict had been due to this impiety. If Turnus is killed, Latinus will then make an alliance with the Trojans. Why should he not do it at once? The Rutuli and all Italy will not pardon Latinus for the death of their prince and aged Daunus deserves pity'.

Stiffly the youth bids Latinus 'lay aside his care for Turnus, who knows how to deal bloody blows. Even Aeneas's goddess-mother will not be at hand with her protecting cloud'. Amata, terrified and weeping, clings to Turnus (54-55) and begs him (56-63) not to fight the Trojans, for he is the safety of the kingdom of Latinus: if Turnus dies, she will die too. The youth fixes his gaze on the blushing Lavinia, but his heart, though stirred by love, burns the more for war (64-71). He bids Amata (72-80) not to send him into battle with such an unhappy omen: Idmon is ordered to announce to Aeneas that Turnus will be ready for the combat at dawn. Turnus rushes *in tecta* and demands his swift horses (81-82).

In Act V we have the speedy culmination of the tragedy foreshadowed in Act IV. The first scene occurs close to the city walls (12. 116), where a space has been measured off for the combat of Aeneas and Turnus. In the center are grassy altars; attendants are bringing fire and water, velati limo et verbena tempora vincti (119-120). Both armies are assembled here before dawn (113; 172); the leading men hurry to and fro, in gold and purple (126); old men, women, and children crowd the walls and the roofs of the city (131-133). Onto the field come riding in their chariots Latinus, in a gleaming crown with twelve golden rays, and Turnus, brandishing his iron spears (161-165), on the other side Aeneas, in his celestial arms, with young Ascanius (166-169). A priest in unspotted raiment begins the sacrifice and the solemn ceremony (169-171). With drawn sword Aeneas prays, declaring that, if victory comes to Turnus, the Trojans will retire to Evander's city and never trouble the Latins more; if Aeneas wins, Latins and Trojans shall be united on equal terms, Latinus the military head, Aeneas the religious head of the State. With equal solemnity Latinus swears (197-211) to abide by these terms; he swears by earth and sea and stars, by the two-fold offspring of Latona, by Janus and the power of the gods below, by Jove of the thunderbolt.

The sacrifice is finished, the *reges* depart, when (Scene 2) Turnus quietly approaches the altar, pale, with downcast eyes (218-221). Then his sister, Juturna, in the form of a warrior (222-224), taunts (229-237) the Rutuli with 'letting one man risk his life for all of them. By this means Turnus will win immortal glory, while they will become slaves of the Trojans'. The people call for arms, wish that the treaty had not been made, and pity the unjust fate of Turnus (241-243). Then occurs the portent[12] of the swan and the eagle, than which nothing could have been better calculated to incite the murmuring host to break the treaty so solemnly sealed in the preceding scene. Immediately Tolumnius, augur, crying that this is the answer to his prayers, bids the people seize their weapons and defend their prince (258-265). Running forward, he hurls his spear among the enemy. In a moment battle is precipitated (266-269), the altars are torn to pieces (283), and there is a rain of weapons (284). Latinus is seen fleeing, 'bearing off his routed gods, the treaty all undone' (285-286).

The last scene brings us back to the palace of Latinus. From outside is heard the noise of the attack and of the people who swarm in like bees (575-592)[13]. Some are for opening the gates to the enemy, others wish to defend the walls (584-586)[14]. A woman-servant[15] enters and relates the suicide of Queen Amata (595-603). There is a wailing from the Latin women, Lavinia tears her hair and disfigures her beautiful cheeks, the whole house resounds with weeping (604-607). Latinus rends his garments, casts dust on his snow-white locks (609-611) and, doubtful and hesitating to the end, cries[16], in utter helplessness:

[10] In Vergil's narrative this prayer is uttered at the temple.

[11] Is this true? We do not hear that Amata is even present in the scene where Latinus yields to the demand for war (7. 573-600).

[12] Because of the difficulty of showing the portent on the stage, the poet's account of it may be related by Juturna, who can report it as just witnessed by herself.

[13] In Vergil's narrative these things do not occur in the palace.

[14] The woman-servant may be employed to relate what the poet himself has told in the Aeneid.

[15] The following cry of Latinus is an adaptation of Aen. 12. 610, 658.

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coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina
quos generos, vocem ego aut quae nunc me ad foedera
flectam?

From this simple exposition of Vergil's treatment of the story of Latinus it is evident that in plot and in characterization the tale meets the chief requirements of a tragedy. The action is in or near the city of Latinus, save in the scene which takes place at Ardea. The most obvious weakness of the proposed drama is in the essential nature of Latinus. Sheer futility is tragic, but so negative a quality lacks dramatic force. The wavering purpose is Euripidean, but the conventional tragic hero is hardly so lacking in self-assertion.

That a five-act drama does thus emerge from the larger story of the Trojan conquest of Latium does not necessarily imply that the poet was influenced by some existing tragedy on this theme or that he was even aware of the striking resemblances between his narrative and a drama. We may rather conclude that, in addition to a familiarity with classical drama, the poet himself had to an unusual degree that keen sense of the importance of dramatic form which we know to have characterized Greek and Roman writers in general, even prose writers of orations and of philosophical dialogues[16].

VASSAR COLLEGE CATHARINE SAUNDERS

REVIEW

Antike Technik. Sieben Vorträge von Hermann Diels. Zweite, Erweiterte Auflage, mit 78 Abbildungen, 18 Tafeln, und 1 Titelbild. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner (1920).

The author, whose life has passed the limit prescribed by the psalmist, has published several valuable works on Greek writers and Hellenic affairs, and comes well equipped for the task he has undertaken in the present instance.

The book is not intended as a general treatise, but is a collection of searching investigations of selected topics (an analogous plan is followed in some of these special investigations, some particular point being elaborated). Constant reference is made to the works of others, very many of which are of recent date. Of course, for obvious reasons, most of the authorities referred to are German, but foreign works are not ignored as such; we find French authorities cited often, and sometimes English and American, not to mention others.

In his researches the author employs all available means of avoiding erroneous conclusions. When he is dealing with matters that lie outside of his field, he calls specialists to his aid. Especially in the preparation of models of ancient mechanisms was this care important. The results of his investigations, thus interpreted and executed by experts, are such that visitors to European collections need to be warned against the danger of being misled by totally erroneous models or 'restorations'. For instance, we learn that Napoleon appointed a philologian and a general to study the texts and construct models of the ancient 'artillery'.

Leider arbeiteten beide, die sehr eigensinnig waren, nicht gut zusammen. So sind die grossen Geschützmodelle, die noch heute im Museum St. Germain aufgestellt sind, wenig mehr als moderne Phantasiekonstruktionen.

Another instance is the model of a water clock in the Deutsches Museum in Munich, which is "äusserlich glänzend, aber innerlich völlig verfehlt".

One feature of the work deserves special commendation: it contains abundance of illustrations, many of which are photogravures. Without these the book would be like a geometry without diagrams.

The work proper consists of an address before the Marburg Philological Assembly, four lectures at the Salzburg Hochschule, an address before the Archaeological Society (in Berlin), March 4, 1913, and, finally, the substance of an address before the Prussian Academy of Sciences, July 19, 1917.

The Preface to the first edition is dated Easter, 1914, that to the second, Easter, 1919. In the first is stated the object of the work, to do something toward bringing together the antagonistic parties consisting of those who have contempt for things ancient and those who devote themselves to the study of antiquity, and to aid even the latter to a better understanding of the progress made by the ancients in things material. The author emphasizes the necessity of cooperation between the idealism of scholars and the realism of scientists and mechanicians.

An attempt to give a practically useful epitome of the work would be idle. Only so much will be said on the treatment of each topic as is necessary to convey some idea of the character of the book.

I. *Wissenschaft und Technik bei den Griechen*

Passing over prehistoric matters, the author begins with Thales and discusses concisely the theories and the achievements of Anaximander, Cleostratus, Harpalus, Mandrocles, Pythagoras, Eupalinus, Heraclitus, Hippodamus, Polycletus, etc. The tunnel made by Eupalinus to convey water through Mt. Athos to the city of Samas is illustrated by means of a map, and by the diagram of Hero showing how the calculations were made for cutting a tunnel from both ends. There is reason to believe that Hero may have had this very tunnel in mind,

[16]For a recent treatment of this characteristic see Dramatic Interpretation in the Teaching of the Classics, by Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College Record 21. 217-237 (May, 1920), reprinted in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 73-77, 81-85. For Vergil, reference may be made to an editorial, The Aeneid as a Tragedy: Dido, A Latin Tragedy, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 8.169-170, especially to the bibliography of this theme given on page 170, and to H. O. Ryder, A Miniature Drama: Aeneid 1.338-368, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11. 175-176.

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The far-reaching influence of the School of Miletus is discussed, and the 'artillery' of the Greeks is described and its history investigated, especially its employment by Dionysius the Elder. Then follows a similar treatment of the School of Pythagoras in particular, considerable space being given to medicine and surgery. One illustration in the course of this discussion is a photogravure of a bit of papyrus from which alone was learned the name, Diades, of the great mechanical engineer who served under Alexander at the siege and capture of Tyre and other cities. There is here also a sensible discussion of the causes that led to the contempt of the ancients for craftsmen and artificers of all sorts, among whom they classed physicians, surgeons, engineers, and the like. To this contempt there was one exception, Archimedes. The reasons for his becoming famous are discussed, and an account is given of his mathematical and mechanical achievements. Here such men as Archimedes are commended, and the necessity of theory and practice, pure science and applied science going hand in hand, is elaborated.

II. *Antike Türen und Schlösser*

Beginning with Homer, the author devotes fifteen pages to descriptions and illustrations of ancient, especially Greek, doors and locks. Many of the illustrations are taken from ancient representations. The ingenuity displayed in devising locks and keys is in no degree inferior to that of the present day.

III. *Dampfmachine, Automat, Taxameter*

This lecture is devoted almost entirely to Hero of Alexandria. Those who are familiar with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Griechisches Lesebuch are acquainted with most of the topics here treated, but it may be worth while to enumerate them.

(1) Hero's Ball, from which water was forced out by compressed air—a principle already employed in the construction of the fire-engine by Ctesibius, and virtually in use at the present day.

(2) Hero's Steam Sphere, caused to rotate by the retroaction of escaping steam (three illustrations).

(3) Automata. Here considerable space is given to an account of the performance of a play by automata in a theater—the ancient 'moving pictures'.

(4) The Hodometer. The description given by Hero is reproduced in full. The wheel of a vehicle sets in motion a series of cog wheels, like clock-work, which record the rotations of the carefully measured wheel, and so give the distance passed over. The instrument resembles our gas-meters. Vitruvius describes an instrument (similar to the hodometer) which indicated the distance in a different way, and adds that it may be used in navigation.

(5) Holy Water automaton: the first slot-machine. A coin dropped through a hole opens a valve by means of a lever and lets the water flow for a brief moment. It seems not to be known whether the inventor of the modern slot-machine got his idea from Hero or not.

IV. *Antike Telegraphie*

This lecture begins with an account of secret communications between persons at a distance from each other. The first instance recorded in Greek literature was the famous folded tablet of Iliad 6.169. The *skytale* is discussed and explained. In the course of time additional means of communication were devised. Aeneas Tacticus enumerates sixteen different methods, one of which is illustrated by a diagram. But he does not mention the carrier pigeons, though it is well established that they were already in use in the fifth century B. C. Fire-signalling is discussed, and a map shows the line of signal stations from Troy to Mycenae, according to Aeschylus in the Agamemnon[1]. Of course the details here are treated as fictitious, but it is contended that some such line of stations may have existed. Such signalling required a prearrangement between sender and receiver of messages. Means of overcoming this difficulty are mentioned and discussed, especially the system described by Polybius 10.45. Then follows a brief sketch of telegraphy down to what is now understood by 'telegraphy' and 'signalling', closing with mention of the employment of intense lights even by day, as was done by the Germans in 1914-1918. At the end of that period improvements were made which have been kept secret.

V. *Die Antike Artillerie*

Our knowledge of the ancient machines of warfare is derived partly from historians, but chiefly from writers on the subject, especially Philo, of Byzantium, and Hero. The results of earlier attempts to reconstruct, from these sources, such machines, even including the attempt instituted by Napoleon III, were not entirely satisfactory. But, recently, General E. A. Schramm, aided by the late Dr. Rudolf Schneider, as linguist, is believed to have achieved practically perfect restorations. As the ancient machines were made chiefly of wood, very few remains of them have survived, but many projectiles (balls) and some arrow-points have been found.

The large machines ('artillery') were formerly believed to have been invented by the Jews, since this is expressly stated in II Chronicles 26.15; but it is now believed that the author of this book lived about 500 years after the events he narrates, and that he committed an anachronism.

The bow and arrow have been in practically universal use from time immemorial. From the bow arose the cross-bow, certainly in use in the Roman period, and, no doubt, earlier in Greece. The failure of the historians to mention it is probably due to the fact that it was used in hunting rather than in warfare. The Greek writers begin with the γαστραφέτης (a word not found in Liddell and Scott), which was an enlarge-

[1]Reference may be made to a paper, 32 pages long, by Augustus C. Merriam (formerly Professor at Columbia University), entitled Telegraphing Among the Ancients. This was published as No. I of Classical Series III of the papers of the Archaeological Institute of America (Cambridge, John Wilson and Sons, 1890). On pages 24-32, Professor Merriam discussed the "Problem of the Line of Beacon-Fires", Aeschylus, Agamemnon 281-316.
C. K.

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ment of the crossbow, with resulting modifications. In Diels's book it is fully described, with illustrations. Here our author inserts a description, with illustration, of a war-engine derived from the sling—the μονάγκων, or *onager*, as the Romans called it.

The catapults proper are now discussed. It is not possible here to make a useful abstract of this very interesting part of the work. Suffice it to say that the subject is treated with clearness and thoroughness from every point of view, though an artillerist might wish that the author had collected all the data bearing on caliber and range. These are carefully considered, but there seems to be no mention of the ταλαντιαῖος πετροβόλος (or λιθοβόλος), a '60-pounder', with an effective range of only about 600 feet, according to Philo, who says it was the most powerful of the siege-pieces.

The latter part of the lecture brings the history down to and including the invention of gunpowder and its application—the invention of the cannon.

Diesen bedeutenden Fortschritt verdanken wir weder den Arabern, . . . noch den Chinesen, sondern den Deutschen, die bei Byzantinern wie Italienern als die Erfinder der neuen 'barbarischen' Technik angesehen wurden.

In this part of the lecture there is an interesting discussion of the steam cannon ascribed to Archimedes, with the illustrations made by Leonardo da Vinci. The author believes that the story of this invention originated among the Arabians, who are known to have made other forgeries under the name of Archimedes.

The lecture closes with an able justification of the destructive inventions of the Germans. A footnote states that this justification was written just as it stands before the Great War broke out.

VI. *Antike Chemie*

The origin of the name of this science is minutely investigated. The author believes that it originated from χῦμα, 'Metallguss', so that *chymie* would be more accurate than *chemie* (some of us can remember when it was often called *chymistry* even by scientists). Then follows a most laborious and painstaking investigation of the alchemistic literature in ancient times, when an important part was played by a large work forged under the name of Democritus. The conclusion is that the mystic character of ancient chemistry, that is, what we call alchemy, originated from a Hellenic source, and specifically in the Pythagorizing circles of Egypt.

The earliest extant records of what may be called chemistry are now taken up. These are two papyri found in an Egyptian grave in 1828; they belong to the third century after Christ. The writing is beautiful, the spelling very bad. One of these papyri lay in Leyden, virtually buried, until 1885, when it was published; the other, after some roaming, found its way to Upsala, where it was published in 1913. The first reveals the secrets of the Egyptian falsification of metals and of purple dyeing; the other treats of silver, purple, pearls, and precious stones, chiefly with a view to imitation. The account given here of the contents of these papyri is exceedingly entertaining, whether one be interested in chemistry and antiquities or not. This account is followed by an investigation of the sources from which the papyri sprung. These papyri and similar documents were strictly secret (the users being bound to secrecy by a solemn oath), not only from the general public, but even from those whom we should call experts. An investigation of this mystery leads to the conclusion that the men possessing and transmitting these secrets were the Egyptian priests.

The lecture concludes with the transition from this art of fraud and deception to the science of chemistry, which may be dated from Lavoisier at the close of the eighteenth century.

VII. *Die Antike Uhr*

This article (enlarged address) of 78 pages constitutes one-third of the entire work. It may safely be pronounced the most trustworthy and complete treatment of the subject that we have.

First the sun-clocks (dials or sun-dials, as we call them) are treated, then the water-clocks (*clepsydrae*). The measuring of time perhaps more than anything else requires a combination of scientific knowledge and mechanical invention. The subject here treated consequently is specially adapted to enabling us to judge of the intellect and the mechanical achievements of the ancients.

A brief account is given of the measurement of the year by the sun and the determination of the month by the moon and of the difficulties growing out of the fact that these units thus measured are not commensurable.

The subdivisions of the day (the day itself being obviously fixed also by the sun) were, in the earlier historical period, very vague among the masses of the people, but scientific men in Egypt, Babylon, and China had been for two thousand years making observations on the sun, and the sun-dial was introduced from Babylon by Anaximander. The shadow of the gnomon by its varying length indicated the time of year and determined the seasons and the whole year, and furnished means of ascertaining the obliquity of the ecliptic, which was observed by Anaximander.

In classical literature there is repeated mention of estimating the time of day by the length of one's own shadow. This, of course, depended on the latitude and the time of year, and there is extant a work of Palladius (fourth century A. D.) containing hour-tables for measuring the hours in this way.

The sun-clock, which measured hours as well as seasons, seems to have established itself in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., and must have been used by such men as Oenopides and Meton. Dionysius the Elder, of Syracuse, had a large one constructed. Eudoxus of Cnidos (408-335) invented an improvement on the then existing sun-clocks. He spent several years in Athens in association with Aristotle and other pupils of Plato. It is noteworthy

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that in the famous mosaic of Torre Annunziata (a picture of which forms the frontispiece of this book), representing Plato teaching in the Academia, a sun-clock is seen at the top of a column.

Our sun-dials are very easy to make for a given latitude, whereas the ancients were confronted by difficulties arising from the fact that daytime, that is, from sunrise till sunset, was divided into twelve equal parts for each day, so that these parts ('hours') varied in length from day to day, the average length being that of the equinoctial hour. Hence the scientifically constructed clocks of the ancients indicated the time of year and the hour-lengths for that date—a process requiring the use of curves, which at first were probably empiric, but later were made on geometrical principles resulting sometimes in conic sections.

Not only were stationary clocks constructed, but portable clocks were devised for any latitude, and for travel generally. Several men, otherwise known for genius, took part in the improvement of these clocks.

We have ancient descriptions of sun-clocks, and these clocks are found on many walls and in excavations. The work before us carefully classifies them according to plans of construction (of which there is a considerable number), describes them minutely, and furnishes about twenty-five illustrations, some of them photogravures.

For cloudy weather and night time and for indoor use, as in court-rooms, some other means of measuring time were necessary. Hence originated, not later than the fifth century B. C., the *clepsydra*, or water-clock, which worked on the same principle as the sand-glass or hour-glass, which was in general use a century ago, and still lingers in some places, that is, the time is measured by the flow of water through a small opening, usually a tube.

The name *clepsydra*, 'water-thief' (humorously bestowed, as is often done in such cases), was transferred to the water-clock from a kitchen utensil, erroneously treated in some of our books as a species of the water-clock. It was a vessel entirely closed, except that it had many very small perforations in the bottom, like a colander, and a hole in the handle small enough to be covered by the thumb. The handle of some was a long slender vertical neck open at the top, that of others an arch attached at both ends, with a hole at the summit. When pressed down into water it soon filled, excluding large impurities, and then with the air shut off by the thumb it could be carried away without appreciable loss of water. Its theory is said to have been investigated by Anaxagoras.

The treatment of the water-clock is like that of the sun-clock in thoroughness and abundance of illustrations. Only a few striking facts, some of them not known until a recent date, can here be mentioned.

Unlike the sun-clock, the water-clock is capable of putting machinery into operation. The first and perhaps most interesting instance of this was the alarm clock constructed under the direction of Plato, which sounded a note, or, as we should say, blew a whistle, when the proper time arrived, to arouse and call to work the pupils in the Academia. This clock is reported to have suggested to Ctesibius, the great genius, the invention of the water-organ, and, we may infer, also, the invention of the fire-engine. He was easily the greatest physicist and mechanician of that period; some of his inventions have survived to the present time. He also devised a method of adapting a water-clock to the varying lengths of hours. An ingenious attempt is here made to restore the construction of such a clock with the aid of the rather vague description given by Vitruvius (9. 8. 6). In this connection is described a clock with a dial and hour-hand, mentioned by Vitruvius. To be traced to inventions of Ctesibius are the hour-striking clock ascribed to Archimedes and various clocks that presented at the ends of hours automata comparable to those of modern clocks. Some of them are described, with illustrations, and through analogous clocks of the Middle Ages we are brought down to the famous Strasburg clock, the handiwork of Germans.

UNIVERSITY, VIRGINIA MILTON W. HUMPHREYS

THE CLASSICAL MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND[1]

To a member of the American Philological Association, and of the Regional Classical Associations in America, points of contrast and resemblances between the meeting of The Classical Association of England, at Cambridge, in August last, and classical meetings in America were of interest. The British Classical Association is not a counterpart either of the American Philological Association, or of such a regional Association as The Classical Association of the Atlantic States; rather it combines features of both. Unlike the American Philological Association it is not made up merely of those who teach in Colleges and Universities or are interested in advanced philology. It does, indeed, bring together such persons; most of the distinguished classical scholars are present at the meetings. On the other hand, it draws a large number from among the teachers in the Secondary Schools and from friends of the Classics who have no connection whatever with education. On the whole, then, it resembles our various Regional Classical Associations more than it does the American Philological Association. The foremost English classical scholars feel that here is a good chance to compare notes with the workers in the Secondary Schools and with all who are interested in the advancement of classical studies. One quality of the British papers at such a meeting especially impresses the American observer: their attention to form, to style. Their papers sparkle with wit, with finished phrase. Unless the listener is interested as well as instructed, readers of papers are not satisfied. The results, at the hands of past masters of the art, are striking. 'No dull moments' seems to be the slogan of their meetings. At the meetings of the American Philological Association our

[1]Professor Chase's account of this meeting arrived after Professor Hirst's report of it had been sent to the printer (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15. 7-8). The following extracts from Professor Chase's account are sure to interest many. C. K.

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scholars are more inclined, probably, to be interested in bringing out the piece of philological work they have on hand; and in twenty minutes there is little time to add ornament to an account of the problem under consideration.

This matter of time brings up another difference. When the papers run over the appointed time, and no provision is made for discussion, as was the case at Cambridge, it is perhaps not so necessary to have the papers well boiled down. The elimination of all discussion is a high price to pay, however. Several of the brilliant papers presented at Cambridge last August called loudly for discussion. We are wiser in limiting our papers rigidly and in leaving time to discuss them.

Readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY would have been much interested in the debate, led by Professor Harrower, on The Best Method of Strengthening the Position of the Classics. To the Americans present it sounded like ancient history; here is one place where we are older than the English. I need not repeat an argument or a suggestion. You know it all: all the passionate *pros* and *cons*. Are archaeology, illustrative material, lantern-slides, special devices to catch interest to be our saviors, or are they but snare and delusion? Will more and better writing of Latin prose and verse turn the trick, or should there be less? Must we be more yielding or more rigid? At first there was a feeling akin to dismay that even our British cousins must come down to such sorry worries as trouble us. We heard of districts where schoolchildren had no chance to study Greek, and where Latin might go the same way. Mr. Wells and all his ilk came in for caustic mention. The British were interested to know with what success we had met these problems in America. But the underlying note was not pessimism. There was merely a call, they felt, to meet with more intelligence and with more enthusiasm problems that could certainly be solved. Probably Professor J. W. Mackail voiced the general feeling when he said that "never were the prospects for the Classics in Great Britain brighter".

The brilliant Presidential address of the great London scholar and banker, Dr. Walter Leaf, should not be left unmentioned. On the one side he himself represented in an eminent way the theme of his paper, Classics and Realities. The various London dailies paid editorial tribute the next day to what he said and what he himself was. In the second half of his address he handled in the neatest possible way Greek banking, a fine piece of work that was generally admired. And I might mention, in passing, that the great English dailies, from London to Manchester, devoted more attention to this one week of classical events in England than would our dailies to those of a year.

I am sure that every American felt that this attempt to bring together the scholars of America and of the British Empire in some form of joint meeting was eminently worth while. We must hope that in due time, perhaps when the American dollar is not so costly, the American Philological Association will in turn invite the British Association. And we shall find that a fast pace has been set for us by the recent meeting. In conclusion, I should like to say how impressive to the observer are the attempts of the English people to work out their problems, educational and otherwise. They are putting forth their very best efforts. I saw this at Oxford in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, of which I was by courtesy an associate member. Much might also be said of the attempts of Oxford and Cambridge to meet the needs, in graduate study, of young scholars of the Dominions and of America.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, CLINTON, NEW YORK CLEVELAND K. CHASE

CORRESPONDENCE
ON VERGILIAN DETERMINISM

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.2-5 Professor Pease criticized my contention that the Aeneid does not prove Vergil a Stoic. I should like to call attention to a few of the points where he seems to me not quite to justify his criticism.

(1) In speaking of Vergil's early enthusiasm for epicureanism I had assumed, of course, that Eclogue 6 was written in honor of Siro (see Classical Philology 15.115), that Vergil was the author of the Ciris, with its prooemium, and that Georgics 2.490 ff. referred to Lucretius.

(2) Professor Pease asks (3),"...what shall we do with the philosophy of the Fourth Eclogue (about which Professor Frank is discreetly silent)...?". It would no more occur to me to deduce any philosophy from the references to "secular repetition" in this allegorical poem than to draw biological data from its benevolent lions and pink rams. Surely we have here, as in Aeneid 6, a picturesque setting assumed for artistic purposes.

(3) Professor Pease differs with me (3) concerning *semina flammae*, Aen. 6. 6. Every commentator gives the Homeric parallel, but it is more to the point that Lucretius uses *semina ardoris* and *semina vaporis* in a technical sense. When philosophers—and Vergil was a close student of Lucretius—employ words like 'atom', they naturally think of the current and not of the obsolete usage.

(4) In The Classical Review 34 (1919), 104, I pointed out the Lucretian parallel and the Epicurean connotation of *sole repercusso*, Aen. 8. 23.

(5) On the identification of Zeus and fate see Professor Pease's excellent commentary on Cicero, De Divinatione 1.125, and the seven authorities there cited.

(6) The hypothetical Unitarian writing a poem on the Immaculate Conception (5) does not seem to me to provide an apposite parallel. The Aeneid is hardly a philosophic poem. My point was that the eschatological setting was incidental to the artistic purpose of bringing the Roman heroes into review. It would be fairer to cite as a parallel a poem like Stephen Phillips's Christ in Hades. Does any reader of Phillips ever assume that the poet actually accepts the medieval legend of the Harrowing of Hell?

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A BIBLIOGRAPHIC MONOGRAPH ON THE VALUE OF THE CLASSICS

Under the above caption Professor George Depue Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Lewis R. Harley, Principal of the Girls' High School, Philadelphia, assisted by Miss Jessie E. Allen, Dr. Ethel L. Chubb, Mr. Fred. J. Doolittle, Dr. Edward H. Heffner, Mr. Arthur W. Howes, Miss Edith F. Ricc, and Dr. Elis A. Schnabel have brought out a pamphlet which ought to prove of service to many, even though it makes no claim to exhausting its subject. The pamphlet, which was published by the University of Pennsylvania, was undertaken by the collaborators on behalf of The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Culture.

The contents are as follows: Introduction(Summary of Arguments), 5–6; Part I. General Works on the Value of the Classics (7–8); Part II. On the Value of the Classics (9–16); Part III. On the Influence of the Classics (17–22); Some American Classical League Publications (23–24); Part V. The Classics and Education (25–35).

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, No. 4 MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1921 WHOLE No. 400

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The following additions have been made to the list of publications.

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The Classical Weekly

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PROFESSOR OGLE ON CLASSICAL EDUCATION

In Education, for January, 1921 (41.312–319), Professor M. B. Ogle, of the University of Vermont, has a paper entitled A Neglected Aspect of Education. The fundamental elements of education, he declares, are appreciation of form and beauty, and the moral, ethical, and spiritual development of man. An appreciation of form and beauty one can get from a study of nature; from such study, however, one can make no advance in moral, ethical, and spiritual development.

Nature is . . . absolutely unmoral. Her law is the law . . . that might makes right, that the weak have no prerogatives which the strong are bound to respect, that to the victor belong the spoils.

It is only from companionship with men, and especially with the master spirits of the race, that we can gain knowledge of the things that make for moral, ethical, and spiritual development (313). The teachers of literature, therefore, are the guides to the sources whence alone can be drawn any conception of moral and spiritual ideals (314). Men must pay more attention than they do now to questions of literary form and beauty, and to the moral and spiritual value of the messages left by the writers with whom they deal (314).

In this connection, Professor Ogle urges, the teachers of Latin have an especial opportunity (314–315)

If, indeed, the greatness of a literature is to be measured, not by beauty of form only, but by the universality of its appeal, by the intellectual and spiritual influence which it exercises upon the generations of men, there is no literature which has a better claim to supremacy than the Latin; there are no names, for example, that have meant so much to as many people for as long a time as have the names of Vergil, Cicero, and Horace. It is not too much to assert that without the works of these three men, to say nothing of other great writers, the history of western thought, of western literature, of western morals, would not have been what it has been. And one cannot help feeling that had not they and their message to mankind been largely forgotten, had we not failed to pay heed to the experiences of the great people of which they are the truest representatives, we should not be in our present slough of despond.

Professor Ogle believes that teachers of Cicero and teachers of Vergil have specially favorable opportunity to contribute to the moral, ethical, and spiritual development of their pupils. He reminds us of what St. Augustine said, in his Confessiones 3. 4, of the extent to which he was influenced by the Hortensius of Cicero. Professor Ogle translates, or paraphrases, the passage, as follows·

'Now by the usual course of reading I came upon a certain book of Cicero. This book of his is called an exhortation to philosophy, and is entitled Hortensius. And the book altered my feelings and turned my prayers to thee, O God, and made me have other purposes and desires. All my hopes came to be vain in my eyes and worthless, and I longed with an incredible yearning of the heart for the immortality of wisdom, and began to arise that I might turn to thee. I was strongly roused and kindled and inflamed to love and to seek and to obtain and to embrace, not this, or that sect, but wisdom herself, whatever it might be'.

Teachers of Cicero therefore should, urges Professor Ogle (316), make their students realize that the moral philosophy of Cicero was the chief source of the Christian ethics upon which our civilization has been built; that it was the discovery of the individuality of Cicero, as revealed in his Letters, which led men in the Middle Ages to break the shackles of authority of Church and State, and to become again intellectually and spiritually free, thus making possible the Renaissance: and to show their students

how the ideals of the nations which fought in our Great War are reflected in their attitude toward Cicero, in that he, the great *popularis consul*, the unceasing advocate of individual freedom checked by individual responsibility, has been condemned, despised and ridiculed in Germany, honored, loved and idealized in Italy, France and England.

Teachers of Vergil, he continues, have a still greater privilege (316–319),

that of interpreting . . . the voice of the poet and the prophet who has tried to solve the riddle of life and to fix the place of the individual amid the flux of things . . . .

To Vergil's mind it is only through toil and sorrow and suffering that man can develop as an individual and learn to have love and sympathy for his fellows. The value of vicissitude, of the sweat of the brow and the tears of the heart, in the forming of character, is the chief burden of the Georgics, especially of that passage in which the poet tries to reconcile the two great theories of the origin of man: the one, that of the Stoics, according to which man has, owing to his weakness, fallen from a divine estate; the other, that of the Epicureans, according to which man has developed from a material atom. Vergil accepted the Stoic doctrine of the divine nature of man, as "a part and parcel of God", and of his fall, but, in his eyes, this fall was not a curse but a blessing in disguise, sent designedly from heaven in order that man, by means of toil and hardship, might win strength and courage and wisdom, and again work upward to the divine. "God himself", he tells us, "has willed that man's way be not easy, and by vicissitudes he has sharpened the wits of man". And again, "Toil overcomes all obstacles,—unceasing toil, and the pressure of need amid hardships". Not only, therefore, does knowledge come, as Emerson puts it, "by working hands", not only "by doing does man unfold himself",

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but by suffering also, and both are necessary, says Vergil, for the formation of the highest manhood. In the Aeneid, also, in that portion which is read by high school students, the same great truth is set before us. Both Aeneas and Dido are what they are because of what they have done and suffered. It finds noble expression in that deathless line spoken by the Queen when she receives the shipwrecked Trojans: "Well do I know sorrow, and it teaches me to aid those in distress". It was this sympathy, born from her own sad life, which had moved her to paint upon the walls of her temple the sad picture of Troy's overthrow—the picture which wrings from Aeneas, as he gazes upon it, a cry of woe over the heaviness of his burden, a prayer that he might put from him his cup of suffering, but at the same time brings him comfort and inspiration and hope; it is the token of sympathy, the assurance that "human hearts are touched by human woe".

In this assurance of the value of suffering to the individual, Vergil found, in part at least, an explanation of its universality and a justification for it. But is even this enough to justify the sorrow of the Trojan women, as they sit there on the shore weeping for the dead Anchises, but weeping each one, as she gazes out over the sea, for her own sad lot? Is it enough to justify the broken heart of the old Evander, as he weeps over the body of his only son, the brave and beauteous Pallas? Is it enough to justify the tears of the fathers and mothers of our own day who have suffered the same loss which Evander suffered? To these questions, also, which, after all, are the real riddle of life, Vergil gives us an answer, and his answer is one which every young student of the Aeneid should know and ponder over. He found it in the story of his hero, a man of sorrow, whose dearest hopes lay buried in the dust of Troy, beneath the walls of which he fain would have fallen, and yet one who bore his burden bravely, with a smile upon his lips in spite of the deep woe in his heart, because he knew that he was striving toward an ideal, aiding, however falteringly, in the carrying out of a divine purpose. To Vergil this ideal was Rome's work in the world, and this work was, as he himself expresses it, "to crown peace with law". Moments there were when Aeneas forgot, one poignant moment when he and Dido proved false to their own high character and to their ideals, and violated the moral law. Dido's punishment was death: Aeneas', a blasted hope and a broken heart, and a resumption of his cross to travel again his weary road. But in the light of Rome's work in the world, in the light of the lofty ideal which is held up to us in the writings of Cicero and Horace no less than in those of Vergil—the crowning of peace with law—, we have both an explanation of the hardships of the individual and a justification of the ways of God to man.

Such, in part at least, is the message which comes to us from the intercourse with the great spirits of the Roman world. That we stand today in urgent need of their message no one, in the present state of things, will deny. For, as has lately been well said, it is not a contest of strength that the world faces, but of morals, and what our youth needs, therefore, is not so much the lessons to be learned from an investigation of birds and flowers and rocks, as the lessons to be learned from the reading and the study of good books. And not the least of these are the books of Cicero, Vergil, and Horace, which, for two thousand years, have nurtured the mind and spirit of man, and which speak to us of the dignity of toil, of the value of vicissitude for the upbuilding of character, of the responsibility of the individual, of the necessity of an ideal, if we are to gain a broader view of heaven's purposes and earth's needs,—such an ideal as that of Rome in her greatness, the crowning of peace with law.

C. K.

PROMETHIUS BOUND OF AESCHYLUS[1]

It hardly seems as if anything could have been left unsaid or unthought about the Prometheus of Aeschylus in all these centuries. And yet, in considering the problems which such a drama undoubtedly presents, our minds are often beclouded by inherited traditions and prejudices concerning the ancient Greeks and their literature. We know that some of these traditions originated long ago in very dull and narrow minds; but we still preserve them by a kind of perverted scholarship. It may be that with respect to the Prometheus we have all been influenced, more or less unconsciously, by such traditions and prejudices. Moreover, it is certainly a mistake to attempt to synthesize, as many scholars are prone to do, all that the ancient Greeks have said on any subject, or even to interpret every saying of an ancient author by what the same author has said elsewhere. For example, it may be that the conception of Zeus presented in the Prometheus is fundamentally different from the conception of Zeus in the Agamemnon.

It is a dangerous practice also to interpret ancient literature as if it were modern. The danger lies in our natural tendency to project upon ancient times thoughts and feelings which are natural and common now, but which were alien to the ancient world, thereby ignoring the ideas and beliefs of the ancients which we have outgrown. On the other hand, it is equally dangerous to assume that the ancients thought and felt otherwise than we, especially if we hold, as we do, that among the ancient Greeks were some of the ablest minds which the human race has produced. This assumption would stretch every utterance of an ancient thinker upon the Procrustean bed of our traditional conception of the ancient world, and at the outset beg the question in the prosecution of any nonconformist.

There is an idea, which is present in much of our modern thinking on matters of religion, that, as the human race advances, the religious views of the more enlightened and spiritually-minded tend to become more and more remote from those more primitive notions embodied in a traditional literature and mythology, or in the creed and ritual prescribed by an organized priesthood, and preserved essentially unchanged by the religious conservatism and superstition of the masses. This may seem to some an essentially modern idea, and foreign to the ancient world. But it is certain at least that contemporaries of Aeschylus were convinced that the conceptions of the gods involved in their traditional literature and in popular belief were irreconcilable with what gods must be, if there are gods at all. It seems clear to me that Aeschylus also held this view. I do not mean merely that an interesting comparison may be drawn between the religious ideas of Aeschylus and our own; I mean that certain religious ideas similar to ours were consciously held by Aeschylus, and were deliberately

[1] This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Hunter College, April 23, 1921.

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incorporated by him in this drama. If this is so, then we may properly seek to interpret this drama in accordance with these ideas.

The common interpretation of the Prometheus is that the poet took certain well-known myths, and with his artistic genius gave to them dramatic form. If these familiar stories are all this drama contains, there is no reason why anyone might not understand it completely, and doubtless this is all it did contain for the mass of Aeschylus's audience. These stories are presented in scenes which involve much that is theatrical or spectacular, amounting sometimes to what we should expect in a modern melodrama. How the audience must have enjoyed seeing Might and Force drag in the struggling Promethcus and hold him to the cliff, while the reluctant Hephaestus pinioned him! How they must have wondered at the sea-maidens arriving in their winged car, or at old Oceanus with his dragon! How the horned Io and the account of her wanderings must have interested them! How they must have been thrilled by the awful cataclysm at the end! What might seem to us ridiculous in these spectacles was not so for those who believed that these supernatural beings really existed, and who were familiar from childhood with stories of such occurrences. Theatrical effects seem to me characteristic of Aeschylus's plays, and the chief reason for their notorious popularity. Processions and spectacular scenes crowd the stage in the Oresteia and the Seven Against Thebes. These were plays which everyone, however unintelligent, could and did enjoy. And when we remember the extreme beauty of its verses, the sublime fortitude of its hero, and the pathos with which the innocent and pitiful Io is presented, we need not wonder at the success of the Prometheus.

But surely this is not all that the Prometheus contains. Justly it has been called the most profoundly moving drama of all literature. Profundity is not necessarily involved in the legends selected, and it cannot be by accident that through his presentation of these legends the poet awakens in us the deepest thoughts concerning the existence and nature of divinity. That Aeschylus produced a play suited to the comprehension of a crowd is evident. That the same play had a deeper meaning for the more thoughtful in his audience is also possible. Some modern scholars, seeking such a deeper meaning, see in this, as in many other Greek tragedies, human character exhibited on a supernatural scale. Prickard, for example, sees in Prometheus a mythological figure like Oedipus, in whom a human character struggling under overwhelming injustice and suffering is presented to view. But neither Prometheus nor Io is an obviously human type; the human traits they display are incidental rather than essential to this drama. Others hold that Prometheus is the uncompromising champion of liberty, crushed in the conflict with autocracy, ultimately to arise triumphant. But Prometheus in this drama is the benefactor of the human race, not a champion in any sense; Io is the innocent victim of a ruthless tyranny.

There is, however, another interpretation of this drama, which is at least more plausible. To many Prometheus is the heroic sinner, the rebel against the divine order of things-as-they-are, to which all should conform. Such persons hold that the essence of morality for the ancient Greeks was conformity to the transcendent rhythm of the universe, of which each individual is an integral part. From this point of view it was right and necessary that Prometheus should be 'rhythmized', that is, reduced, by torments if need be, to conformity. Thus they hold that Prometheus was for the Greeks a typically 'tragic' figure, involved by fate and circumstance in the hopeless antithesis of two resistless forces, in this case the passion for liberty and the duty of conformity; for us the balance is unequal and our sympathies are wholly with Prometheus, only because conformity to an organization of the universe which included the traditional Greek gods has ceased to be the ultimate morality.

But this explanation is not complete, not wholly satisfactory. It fails to account for certain features of this drama which constantly recur, forcing themselves upon our attention. Why, for example, is the statement so often reiterated that the gods, against whom Prometheus rebelled, are *new* and *transient*, even though themselves contrasted with ephemeral men? Or why are these gods, with the possible exception of Hephaestus, represented throughout as so extremely and repulsively anthropomorphic, wanton and vile? Why are these two legends, in which the gods appear at their very worst, united here, although there is nothing in the traditional mythology which associated Io directly with Prometheus? Why is it that, although Oceanus, Io, Hermes, and even the sea-maidens urge Prometheus to submit and conform, their pleas are made so weak and unconvincing? They must have seemed unconvincing even to the ancient Greeks as we commonly imagine them. How is it, finally, that the last scenes of the play glorify Prometheus's uncompromising resistance on the ground that the existing authority will be ultimately dethroned or transformed?

Of course Promethcus was a mythological figure, well known to all of Aeschylus's audience. And perhaps this was all he was to most. He is presented here in form more or less human, and with human characteristics. How else could he be presented on the Greek stage? Even such abstractions as Might and Force are presented here in human form. But, like many other mythological figures, Prometheus, as his name implies, is also a personification thinly veiled in the myth. Primarily it is the mythological figure which Aeschylus took as his hero, and conformably with the practice of the Greek tragedians he introduces into his drama nothing which is contradictory to the accepted legends. Within the bounds of this convention, however, the myths and mythological figures are made the vehicles of his thought.

Prometheus belonged to the ages of Uranus and of Cronus, as well as to this present age of Zeus. This

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drama does not explain how Uranus was overthrown, but we are told how the fall of Cronus came about. When the Titans undertook to defend Cronus, Prometheus offered his services to them; their strength and his intelligence united would have sufficed perhaps to maintain the older order. But the Titans would have none of him; they chose to rely on force alone. Hence Prometheus, knowing that force without intelligence could not succeed against deceit, joined Zeus, a willing ally to a willing lord; Zeus the deceitful, guided by intelligence, was better than blind force. By the intelligence of Prometheus Zeus was enabled to overthrow Cronus and all the old régime of heaven, making himself supreme. By reason of the power thus acquired through Prometheus's aid Zeus assigned to each of the lesser gods his special rights and functions. Yet later in the play Prometheus says that this also was done by him and not by Zeus: 'Who else but me did make complete assignment to these new gods of all their several functions?'. Once enthroned, this Zeus became autocratic, violent, and ruthless; he neglected, then sought to destroy utterly the present human race. But Prometheus withstood him for the love he bore to man. He gave men hopes—blind hopes, it is true, but hopes that freed them from too anxious presage of an ultimate doom. He taught men all they know. Unthinking brutes before, he made them advance step by step through all the stages of their civilization. He gave them fire and taught its use, thereby making possible all those activities which depend on its employment. In short, as he says himself: 'All arts to mortals from Prometheus come'. Thus by Prometheus, and by him alone, there was provided for the race of men life which was comparable, in some respects at least, to that of the gods themselves.

Because he withstood Zeus and befriended man, Prometheus incurred the enmity of this new ruler of the universe, and therefore he was transfixed and pinioned upon the lonely crag at the uttermost limits of the world. Yet he foreknew that unless he, the prisoner, saved the tyrant, the tyrant himself would in time be overthrown, in consequence of some act which he would perpetrate unless he was deterred. What that act would be is not fully explained; only it would be a marriage, one more last sexual anthropomorphic union among the gods. But this deliverance of Zeus would not be effected unless Prometheus was delivered from these bonds. His release would not be by the hand of Zeus. The liberator who would release Prometheus would be one born of woman, descendant of Epaphos, the son of Io, whom Zeus would engender, not sexually, but by touch alone. Therefore Prometheus, though he suffered, would not submit to the tyranny of this upstart ruler, whom he himself had once enthroned. He knew that this ruler could not wholly destroy him, not though he heaped more torments, ten-fold more, upon his helpless head, and compassed the ruin of the earth and the sky in the outpourings of his wrath. Twice already Prometheus had seen such rulers of the universe swept from their seats of power. He would yet live to see the present tyrants in their turn dethroned, if they would not submit themselves to his guidance and restraint. The time would come when he would be released from bondage, and then, if fate willed it, would this Zeus turn once more to seek his love and league with him, as eager as he would be eager for this new alliance.

What can this Prometheus be but reasoning, foreseeing Intelligence, which alone bestows on gods and men alike their powers and their prerogatives? There even seems to be a clear hint of this interpretation in the opening scene of the play, where Cratus says to Prometheus: 'Falsely the gods call thee Intelligence; thou thyself dost need intelligence to get thee clear of this skillful work of ours'. But this Intelligence may be enthralled and tortured by the very gods whom he has himself enthroned, and then some one of the race of men must needs release him.

Who are these gods, these new and transient gods, who appear in this strange drama? They are so vile! It was inherent in the legends of Prometheus and of Io that the gods involved therein should appear like men; but surely their anthropomorphism is here unnecessarily emphasized by Aeschylus. It seems as if the poet had tried in every way to make the gods appear as evil as possible. Not much is said about the other gods, but Zeus at least is vividly portrayed. He is arbitrary, irresponsible, violent, lustful, cruel, and ruthless. He is a tyrant. Yet we feel that he is a type of all the rest. Hera is lightly touched upon, but appears to be as human and cruel as her spouse. Hermes is truculent, servile, and ridiculous. Hephaestus alone appears reluctant to execute the cruel orders of his master. But all alike are enemies of Prometheus, and equally hated by him. They are hostile to the human race. Nearly the whole play is devoted to the display of the vindictive cruelty of these gods to Prometheus, whose only fault was that he befriended man, and to Io, whose only fault was that she was lovely.

Are these the gods in whom Aeschylus believed? That he was a deeply religious man, and believed that gods really existed, is evident from his other dramas. But the Zeus of the Prometheus is very different from that mighty, inscrutable deity of whom the chorus in the Agamemnon sings, who rules the world with justice, and who, though he has set this law to be supreme for men, that 'Knowledge comes from suffering', has done this to promote righteousness in men, and not in wanton cruelty. The gods of the Prometheus are the gods of the traditional Greek mythology. They are not eternal. There have been other gods before them, and they themselves in turn will pass away. Real gods, if there be real gods, do not change; but men's conceptions of them change. The conceptions of the gods presented in the Prometheus are those which the Greeks of Aeschylus's time had inherited from a cruder and less spiritual age, embodied in their myths and sacred literature, and developed by the imagina-

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tions of their poets and artists into characters as repulsive to the thoughtful Greeks of the fifth century before Christ as they are to us. Such gods as these are gods created by man in his own image and by him exalted until they enchain and torture the intelligence by which they were created, terrorize and disgust their creators. The intelligence by which they were created will survive them. But man alone can liberate the intelligence by which they may be reconstructed in accordance with man's own intellectual and spiritual development. For such gods have no objective reality; they exist only in men's minds.

This play of Aeschylus is complete in itself. It matters little whether or not it was one of a trilogy treating a single subject, like the several chapters of a book. We know little, practically nothing, of the other plays which are commonly grouped with this. We do not know with certainty that they were grouped together by their author. It is not necessary that we should. The problem with which Aeschylus was dealing in this extant play is definitely presented to us.

The same problem arises for every set of men who, having advanced beyond a more primitive stage of their development, seek to hold fast religious conceptions inherited from an earlier period, because these are incorporated in a literature which they consider sacred, and because all are reluctant to abandon or reconstruct their religious beliefs. The same problem faces the world to-day, and for the same reasons. We should not wonder, then, that Aeschylus in his time dealt with this problem in veiled language, and so cautiously that many in all these intervening centuries have failed to recognize, or at least to agree upon, his deeper meaning.

Those who speak out plainly on such subjects are often held in great dishonor, and are thought by many to be doing incalculable harm. Such protestants have arisen in all ages; there are many of them now. But little good will come of all their argument until the time is ripe. Till then the wisest speak with caution, and try not to defeat their purpose by extreme statements which might destroy beliefs which many hold most dear, and which many would be unable to reconstruct or to replace.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY WILLIAM K. PRENTICE

REVIEWS

The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century Before Christ (University of California Publications in Classical Philology: Volume 7). By James Turney Allen. Berkeley (1920). Pp. 119. Illustrated. $1.25.

Many books and articles have been appearing on the Greek theater and drama in the last few years, the most important being R. C. Flickinger, The Greek Theater and its Drama (compare my review in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.69-71); J. Geffcken, Die Griechische Tragödie (Teubner, 1918: reviewed by Professor Edward Fitch, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 100-101); Romagnoli, Il Teatro Greco (Milan, 1918); and a book entitled Das Theaterwesen im Altertum, which has recently been published in Germany by Miss Margarete Bieber, giving in 109 views and descriptions of most of the theaters that have been preserved, and of costumes, masks, etc.—a very thorough corpus of the Greek and Roman theater. Professor Allen has been interested in the Greek drama for many years and has already published several articles and reviews on literary and archaeological problems connected with the Greek drama (e. g. Greek Acting in the Fifth Century, University of California Publications in Classical Philology 2. 279-289). But the problem of the reconstruction of the fifth century theater at Athens has had for him a strange fascination, and he has devoted many hours to it, and finally got a clue to its solution in the spring of 1918, whose nature he indicated in his short article, The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth Century Theater at Athens (University of California Publications in Classical Philology 5. 55-58). The nature of this clue is set forth in Chapter III of the present book (20-42), The Theater of the Fifth Century, and is illustrated by Fig. 20 on page 30. Here the inner corners of the *paraskenia* of the Lycurgean scene-building, nearest the orchestra, coincide exactly with the inner edge of the retaining wall of the old orchestra-terrace; and it is shown that the inner sides of the *paraskenia* and the wall connecting them at the rear exactly fit the circle of the old terrace (for the early fifth-century theater see Professor Allen's own interesting model, reproduced on page 23, Fig. 16). The north-south diameter of the remaining portion of this terrace is the same as that of the fourth-century orchestra; for, if a line be drawn between the *paraskenia* and at the same distance back from their front line as the Hellenistic *proskenion* stood back of the Hellenistic *paraskenia* (about four feet), this line is an exact chord of the outer circle of the old terrace-wall. These certainly are striking coincidences and, in view of the Greek love of geometry and symmetry—dynamic, static, or otherwise—, they are hardly accidental, so that it would seem that Professor Allen has really made an important discovery. He draws the conclusion that, before the theater was moved, the scene-building had been erected both on and about the orchestra-terrace. In other words, the Lycurgean orchestra was merely a counterpart of the Sophoclean and Euripidean orchestra, which was probably used also for the last plays of Aeschylus. Professor Flickinger says that the fifth-century theater had neither *paraskenia* nor a columned proscenium; but Professor Allen shows the great probability of *paraskenia*. In view of the variety of scenes required by the Greek plays it is unlikely that there was such a proscenium as Professor Allen reconstructs. Professor Allen further thinks (see especially Chapter VIII, The Origin of the Proskenion, 107-116), that the fifth-century scene-building served as a model for the building which replaced it later. He thinks (Chapter IV, The Evidence of the Dramas, 43-68) that the *skene* (='hut' or 'booth'), which was at

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first a flimsy structure, came in the fifth century to be a substantial building, two stories high. He also points out that, when the scene-building represented a house or a temple, no steps were placed before the door. I should go further and say that this was always true, and that Fiechter's plan (Fig. 12) of the fourth-century theater with steps, which seems to have influenced the new so-called Greek theater being built at the University of Virginia (not an accurate representation of a Greek or a Roman theater any more than are the seven or so others in the United States, including that at Professor Allen's own University) is also wrong. I know of no evidence for such steps, which are also frequent in such English adaptations of Greek theaters as that at Bradfield College (reproduced as Fig.22 in Professor Knapp's paper, The Roman Theater, in Art and Archaeology 1.204). Some plays required a portico. Professor Allen thinks that this was not represented by painting (which I am still inclined to think was the method of representing the background in the fifth century), or by a projection into the orchestra, but by being set into the building as in ordinary Greek houses. He puts forward a sixth proposal —very improbable—with regard to the *proskenion*, that it was in point of origin the Aeschylean *skene* itself, that the *skene* could not possibly have been as ugly as it is in the reconstructions of Fiechter, Flickinger, and Dörpfeld (Figs. 12, 22, 23), and that, therefore, the *proskenion* was not added to the *skene* as a decoration screen, but was the scene-building itself. This rather startling thesis will probably cause much criticism. While scholars will probably approve the main discovery of Professor Allen, the conjectural reconstruction of the scene-building at Athens toward the close of the fifth century (Fig. 31) will hardly be accepted. In this reconstruction the first story has seven columns on either side of a single door; the intercolumniation before the door is very wide, and on the frieze here there are three triglyphs to one over each of the other intercolumniations (the wide central front intercolumniation of the Propylaea has only two). The *paraskenia* have six columns each, but the columns are much closer together. The second story is the worst part of the reconstruction. If Athena in the Ajax does not appear on the roof (which Professor Flickinger, The Greek Theater and its Drama, 291, and others deny), she could mount the *proskenion* from the rear in some way, as could Zeus in Aeschylus's Psychostasia. The latter play seems to require some sort of a second story (before 458; not before 430, as Professor Flickinger argues), but it need have no such background as in Figure 31, page 112.

In Professor Allen's reconstruction there is a very awkward platform, too long, too broad, especially over the *paraskenia*, if it was not used for acting; also a very unsightly rear wall absolutely unadorned, except with pilasters at the ends, with a very broad opening in the middle, and with an ungainly cornice and roof above. This is a very unlikely restoration, for which we need more evidence. The Greeks would hardly have built, at the height of their artistic career, such an unsymmetrical and ugly building, even in wood. When the change was made to stone, the original portion of the *proskenion* would hardly continue to be a temporary wooden erection. This is an interesting architectural and archaeological problem, but we have no evidence concerning it in the way of architectural remains, and may never have. The dramas themselves help little, for, while Euripides, unlike Sophocles, who excludes such matters, never misses an opportunity to mention details of architecture, sculpture, and painting, his descriptions are not detailed enough for us to base conclusions on them. It is only fair to say that Professor Allen states in his Preface that he himself has some misgivings about the reconstruction of the Sophoclean scene-building; but he has nevertheless illuminated the problem in many ways. The rest of his book, which does not limit itself to the fifth century, as the title would indicate, is an admirable and sane discussion of the various recent theories regarding the early theater, the fourth and the fifth century theaters at Athens, the evidence of the dramas, changes of the setting and how they were effected, the alleged *prothyron* of the vase-paintings, and the origin of the *proskenion*. The book is written in a readable, interesting, and attractive style.

There are some misprints, but very few errors. On page 25 the facsimile of the inscription cited has a three-barred sigma, but the text a four-barred sigma. The Corpus of Greek Inscriptions (to which one should refer by I.G., and not by CIA, as is done at page 26, note 51), gives (1.499) the four-barred sigma, though Koehler is cited for a three-barred sigma. In any case the inscription is not Attic, as Professor Allen says, for it has the Ionic lambda and the Ionic eta, with which the form of sigma should be four-barred, the form used after 446 B.C. The other inscription cited on page 26 is Attic, but Professor Allen gives the wrong form of epsilon and omits a kappa after the upsilon.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY DAVID M. ROBINSON

SOME NEW VOLUMES IN THE OXFORD JUNIOR LATIN SERIES

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12. 118-119 I noticed briefly some volumes of a new series of annotated editions of the Latin Classics, called the Oxford Junior Latin Series, under the general editorship of Mr. C. E. Freeman, Sometime Assistant Master at Westminster. The books noticed then included editions, by Mr. Freeman, of Livy, Book I, of Ovid, Selections, of Aeneid, Book 4, and of Aeneid, Book 6. In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 23 Professor John R. Crawford reviewed another booklet of the series—an edition of Livy, Book 22, by John Pyper.

Mr. Freeman has now edited Aeneid, Book 10. In the Introduction, pages 5-11, he repeats the account of Vergil and the analysis of Books 1-5 given by him in the Introduction to his edition of Aeneid 6. On pages 12-16 he continues the analysis through Book 10. On pages 16-26 there is a very interesting

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discussion of Fate and the Gods <in Vergil>. On pages 26-30 there is a discussion of The Metre of the Aeneid, identical with that in his earlier editions, except that the illustrations are chosen from Book 10. There are, finally, thirty-six pages of useful notes (67-102), an Index of Proper Names (103-106), and a Vocabulary (107-140).

To the same series belong editions of Book 1 and Book 2, by J. Jackson (author, by the way, of a translation of the Aeneid, in the Oxford University Press Library of Translations [1908], which is very good, except, perhaps, in a fondness, to my mind, excessive, for archaic English words). In the Introduction Mr. Jackson writes about The Life of Vergil (5-8), and about Works of Vergil (8-15): the accounts are Mr. Jackson's own (not Mr. Freeman's). What he says of the Eclogues and the Georgics is better than what Mr. Freeman writes of those works. On the other hand, he writes less fully of the Aeneid itself. The notes are good. I would mention especially those on Ille ego. . . horrentia Martis, 1 a, 1 b, 1 c, 1 d (Mr. Jackson thinks there is "no very strong reason for doubting that <Vergil> *wrote* both passages <i. e. 1 a - 1 d, 1-4>, if only by way of experiment"), 1.15–16, 175–176, 195–197, 242–245, 261–263, 327–330, 367–368, 395–396, 592–593, 607–608, 673–675, 793–704. In connection with 175–176 (the passage in which Achates makes a fire) I may refer to a note on these lines by Professor R. J. Bonner, in The Classical Journal 1.49–50, under the title, A Note on *Rapuit* in Vergil Aeneid I.176. The view there presented is accepted by Messrs. Fairclough and Brown, in their edition of Aeneid, Books I-VI (Benjamin H. Sanborn and Co., Boston, 1908: see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2. 68–69), and by Professor Fairclough, in his translation of the Aeneid in The Loeb Classical Library. But, to my mind, *rapuit* cannot in itself suggest the idea which Professor Bonner assigns to it here, that of swinging *back and forth*. Had Vergil meant that, he should have added *huc illuc*, or the like.

In his Introduction to Book 2, pages 5–15, Mr. Jackson repeats his account of the life and works of Vergil One sentence about the Aeneid is worth quoting (14–15):

And yet to most readers, even in the twentieth century when poetry is a richer and stranger thing than ever it was in the ancient world, these and all kindred flaws shrink very nearly into nothingness before the nobility of thought and diction, the pure patriotism, and the large human sympathy which are the key-notes of the work.

New matter in this Introduction appears on pages 15–18, under the caption The Siege of Troy.

Good notes in this edition are those on 8–9, 15, 21, 37, 47, 111, 124–125, 130–131, 142–143, 157, 174, 178–179, 193–194, 201, 256–257, 263, 272–273, 293, 325, 349–350, 377, 438–441, 453–455, 530, 567–588, 616, 738–740.

Each of Mr. Jackson's volumes contains an Index of Proper Names, and a Vocabulary.

C. K.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSLATIONS

In 1920 Messrs G. Bell and Sons (London) issued separately Mr. Benjamin Bickley Rogers's translation of the Wasps of Aristophanes. There is nothing in this volume to show that it is a reprint. Mr. Rogers's translations of all the plays of Aristophanes into corresponding meters is well known. A complete edition, covering all the plays, appeared in 1916. See a notice of his version of the Clouds, by Professor Humphreys, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.221; a notice I wrote of the second edition of the Wasps (text, translations, and notes) in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10. 200; and Dr. Luce's reference to Mr. Rogers's work, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.120. Some six pages of Notes (99-104) are appended to the present volume.

In 1919 the same publishers had issued, separately, Mr. Rogers's rendering of the Clouds of Aristophanes. In a brief Introduction (vii-xi), dated in April, 1919, Mr. Rogers states that this translation was originally written while he was still an undergraduate at Oxford, and that it was first published in 1852, with the Greek text and notes; it was republished, with some slight revision, as part of the complete edition, in 1916. There are, in the present booklet, five pages of notes (107-111).

One cannot forbear to remark on the extraordinary circumstance that Dr. Rogers was alive, and still keenly interested in Aristophanes 67 years after the appearance of his first published attempt at translation of that author. It makes one think of the fact that Johannes Vahlen twice edited fragments of the Annales of Ennius—in 1854 and 1903 (see American Journal of Philology 32. 1-3).

C. K.

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE FELLOWSHIPS FOR FRENCH UNIVERSITIES

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.54–55, 14.64 an account was given of the establishment of Fellowships, in French Universities, as an enduring memorial of the Field Service Men, from America, who lost their lives in the Great War.

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C. K.

NEW YORK STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION CLASSICAL SECTION

The annual meeting of the Classical Section of the New York State Teachers' Association will be held on Tuesday and Wednesday, November 22–23, in Room 190, Hutchinson High School, Buffalo. The programme is as follows:

Tuesday (9 o'clock), Meeting of the Executive Committee; (10 o'clock), Latin Salutatory, Professor Theodore A. Miller, University of Rochester; Latin Response, Miss Helena L. Duschak, Masten Park High School, Buffalo; Address by the President, A Plea for More Oral Reading of Latin, Professor Donald Blythe Durham, Hamilton College; The Ideal Element in the Politics of Cicero, Miss Margaret Y. Henry, Wadleigh High School, New York City; The National Investigation of the Teaching of Latin, Dr. Mason D. Gray, East High School, Rochester.

Tuesday (1.30), Business Meeting; The Laboratory Method in the Teaching of Beginners, Dean Rollin H. Tanner, Denison University; Some Obesrvations on the Teaching and Study of Latin and Greek, Professor Philip B. Goetz, University of Buffalo; Observations on the Aeneid, Professor Charles Knapp, Barnard College; Recent Discoveries in Pompeii, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.

Wednesday (10 o'clock), Report of The Classical Reading League, Professor Willis P. Woodman, Hobart College; Round Table on Problems in Two Year Latin, conducted by Mr. S. Dwight Arms, Specialist in Ancient Languages, State Department of Education, Albany.

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HORACE, SERMONES 1. 3. 29-34 ONCE MORE

To the list of instances of the repeated adversative conjunction, presented by Professor Knapp in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 153-154, and supplemented by Mr. Barss in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.8, may be added the following example from Tacitus, Annales 1. 102. (a passage in Oratio Obliqua): Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere; sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos . . . .

HUNTER COLLEGE E. ADELAIDE HAHN

KIPLING AND HORACE

It occurs to me in connection with Professor H.W. Gilmer's article, The Classical Element in the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.178, that the phrase "splendaciously mendacious", which occurs in Kipling's poem Poseidon's Law, is a flippant rendering of *splendide mendax*, Horace, Carm. 3. 11. 35.

UNION COLLEGE HARRISON C. COFFIN

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND CAESAR

Samuel Rogers's Table Talk contains many things that are of marked interest to classical students. One passage in particular may be cited here. It is to be found among the reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington, under date of November 24, 1840: "Had Caesar's Commentaries with me in India, and learned much from them, fortifying my camp every night as he did. I passed over the rivers as he did, by means of baskets and boats of basket work; only I think I improved upon him, constructing them into bridges, always fortifying them, and leaving them guarded, to return by them if necessary".

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Printed by W. F. Humphrey, 300 Pulteney St., Geneva, N. Y.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

Organized in November, 1906
Membership April 11, 1921, 724

Dues - - - - - $2.00 per annum

(The year runs from May 1 to April 30)

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Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, No. 5 MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1921 WHOLE No. 401

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, No. 5 MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1921 WHOLE No. 401

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF VERGIL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FULGENTIUS

An examination of the works of the Christian Latin writers shows conclusively that Vergil was the favorite author of the Christians as he had been of the pagans. All the patristic writers who attained to any literary distinction—and many who did not—knew Vergil and used him constantly. Of all the great number of ecclesiastical writers, those who show absolutely no trace of Vergil are but few. Other classical writers were used by the Church Fathers, but not one of these attained to a tithe of that authority which is the distinguishing feature of Vergil. The extent to which Vergil appears in any one author is conditioned by that author's individuality no less than by the period in which he lived. The result of this is that each author bears to Vergil a different relation.

There is, however, one feature which is common to the earlier patristic writers, and that is the absence of any attempt on their part to allegorize the works of the master poet. In the first centuries of Christian Latinity we find attributed to Vergil all sorts of extraordinary qualities; he is revered as a universal authority on subjects of the most diverse kind. He is considered an authority on subjects of literature, art, and mythology; his works are used as a source for history, philosophy, and ethics; he is credited with having anticipated many of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; he is regarded with awe as a prophet of the Messiah, and as a 'Christian without Christ'. Jerome and Augustine noted supposed parallels between the language of Vergil and that of the Scriptures, and the words of the poet are quoted in support of some of the basic dogmas of the Christian faith. And yet, extensive as was the use of Vergil among the early ecclesiastical writers, none of them seems to have been lured by any mystical will-o'-the-wisp into what Walter Pater has called "the quicksand of allegorical interpretation".

As we shall see a little later, some of the pagan writers had amused themselves—and possibly their readers—with allegories drawn from Vergil's works, but among the Christians we find the first evidence of this in the writings of Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, a sixth-century writer of Carthage. He fills a large place in the history of Vergilian scholarship, not because of his literary excellence or because of the intrinsic merits of his productions, but because he developed a new genre of Vergilian interpretation.

Fulgentius was the author of four works, Mitologiarum Libri III, a series of highly fanciful explanations of legends and names; Virgiliana Continentia, a mystical explanation of the contents of the Aeneid; De Aetatibus Mundi, a sort of universal history; and, finally, Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum, a work in which he supplies the defects in his own scholarship by inventing quotations to fit the subjects under discussion.

The only one of Fulgentius's works which is important for our purposes is the Virgiliana Continentia. This remarkable production offers the first example of detailed allegorical interpretation by a Christian. Allegory was no new thing to the ancients, especially in their interpretation of the poets, since practically the only written digest of the pagan faith was to be found in the works of the poets who had sung of the gods and the heroes. Hence it is that allegorical interpretations had been made of Homer and Hesiod, since their works were regarded as religious text-books. Vergil, however, for some time escaped this application of allegory. One factor in this was his modernity; it was harder to engraft such artificialities upon a modern work. We have seen that Vergil early acquired great authority in different departments of human knowledge, and this authority varied according to the particular specialty of the person reading him. Seneca informs us (Epist. 108. 24 ff.) that the grammarians looked upon Vergil as a grammarian, the philosophers as a philosopher; but in Seneca's day we find no trace of allegorical interpretation. In course of time, however, as intellectual pursuits declined, and the emphasis in scholarship was laid on the superficial, Vergil was obliged to yield his share of allegory. This ensued partly because allegory was fashionable, partly because to the pseudo-scholars of the decadence it was inconceivable that a man of such mighty intellect as Vergil had been content to tell a story for the sake of the story, and had not concealed within it something occult and recondite.

The traces of this allegorical interpretation in pagan literature are chiefly in Donatus, Servius, and Macrobius. The statement of Donatus is preserved by Servius (Prooemium to the Eclogues, in Thilo's edition, Volume 3, page 3): 'Donatus says . . . that, in writing his poems, Vergil followed the order of nature; first the life of man was of a pastoral character, after that came the love of agriculture, and then the desire for war'. Servius himself lends a philosophic tinge to some parts of his own commentary, but there is no evidence in his work of a consistent attempt at allegorical interpretation of Vergil. Macrobius furnished the only example, save the commentaries, of a work which professedly deals with Vergil. His writing is pervaded with enthusiastic eulogy and extravagant admiration; he will not admit that there are in Vergil any errors or lapses; the supposed difficulties exist only in the minds of students who are mentally ill-equipped. He strives valiantly to spade up all the vast accumulation

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of learning hidden away in Vergil's poems; for him Vergil is the embodiment of all knowledge and all wisdom. His treatment of Vergil is tinged with allegory, but it is not exclusively allegorical, since the chief emphasis is laid on the prestige and authority of Vergil; the tendency to weave allegories is confined to isolated passages, and does not include the whole extent of Vergil's work[1].

The earliest example in Christian literature of the allegorical view of Vergil is the Virgiliana Continentia of Fulgentius. This bizarre work is an excellent commentary on medieval scholarship and philosophy; it is also of value as a characteristic epitome of the Christian attitude toward Vergil during the sere and locust-eaten years of the decline of learning. In the early part of this work the author makes plain that he will confine his attention to the Aeneid, because the Eclogues and the Georgics contain such esoteric mystic lore that it passes his poor wit to expound them. According to Fulgentius, in the first three Eclogues Vergil *phisice trium vitarum reddidit continentiam*; in the fourth he takes up the art of divination; in the fifth he points out the observances of the priesthood; in the sixth he treats of the art of music, and in part of the same Eclogue he discusses natural philosophy according to the Stoic system; in the seventh he touches upon botany; in the eighth he treats of the influence of music and of magic (in the last part of it he expounds the prognostic art), and in the ninth Eclogue he continues this. What the mystic significance of the tenth Eclogue is, is not brought out. The contents of the Georgics are quite as remarkable. The first Georgic, according to Fulgentius, really deals with astrology, the second with physiognomy and medicine, the third with augury, the fourth with music.

Having thus defined the limits of his research, Fulgentius bursts into five hexameters in which he invokes the Muses—not one Muse, that would not suffice for him—but all of them. Thanks to the intervention of the Muses, the shade of Vergil consents to visit him. The appearance of this specter is most impressive, as befits a philosopher deep in thought. With a humility quite suitable to a pupil in the presence of his master, Fulgentius begs him to expound the lessons hidden in his poems, not the deeply mysterious ones, but only such as his own poor mortal intellect could grasp. This Vergil consents to do, impressing his disciple all the time with a sense of the vast gulf between them by assuming a devastating frown, and addressing him as *homuncule*.

Vergil then explains that in the twelve books of the Aeneid he purposed to present a panorama of human life. In his detailed discussion of this he pauses for a considerable period over the first line, and only after several digressions does he elucidate the implications of the three words *arma*, *virum*, and *primus*. Human life, according to this view, is divided into three stages. The first is acquiring, *habere*; the second is regulating and keeping what we have acquired, *regere*; the third is adorning what we keep, *ornare*. These three stages are found in the first line of the Aeneid: *arma*, valor, relates to the physical; *virum*, wisdom, relates to the intellectual; *primus*, prince (*princeps*), relates to the aesthetic, the artistic. In this way appears the proper order of getting, keeping, and adorning. So has been symbolized under the guise of a narrative the complete course of human existence: first nature, then knowledge, then happiness. With a little farther development of this same theme, Vergil finishes his preface and proceeds to a discussion of the general trend of his work. But first, in order to assure himself that he is not speaking to profane ears, and as a means of determining whether his auditor has read the Aeneid, Vergil requires him to give a synopsis of Book I. This, without resentment at the arrogant tone, Fulgentius proceeds to do.

Thereupon Vergil continues his amazing revelations. The shipwreck of Aeneas typifies the perils of childbirth, where both mother and child are subject to danger. A further evidence of this is the fact that the shipwreck is brought about by Juno, the goddess of childbirth. Aeolus, through whose agency the storm is loosed, signifies perdition, for the Greek *eonolus*[2] signifies destruction. As a reward for his services, Aeolus is promised Deiopea for a wife. Now in Greek *demos* signifies the 'people', and *iopa* 'sight' or 'vision'; therefore danger is experienced by all who are born into the world. Aeneas escapes with seven ships, by which is indicated that the number seven was the auspicious number for childbirth. As soon as he had landed, Aeneas sees his mother, but fails to recognize her, the symbolism of which is that new-born infants are unable to recognize their parents, even though they have the power of sight. After this, from the surrounding cloud, Aeneas sees his friends, but is unable to converse with them, an allegory of the infant who can recognize people, but has not yet developed the power of speech. The faithful Achates to whom Aeneas attaches himself symbolizes the troubles which everyone must bear from infancy, since Achates is equivalent to the Greek *aconetos* (ἄχων ἦθος ?), that is, 'familiarity with sorrow'. Aeneas gazing upon the pictures in the temple typifies the simple mind of the child, which is satisfied with mere outward show. The song of Iopas is emblematic of the song wherewith the nurse soothes the child, for Iopas is the Greek *siopas*, the silence which the child preserves while the nurse is singing to him.

Books 2 and 3 relate to childhood with its love of the wonderful. The Cyclops in Book 3 symbolizes foolish arrogance, conquered by Ulysses, who is good sense. The death and burial of Anchises typify the termination of the period of childhood when the adolescent youth rejects paternal authority. Freed from parental restraint the man (Book 4) gives himself up to the delights of the chase and of love; he is overwhelmed by his passions, represented by the storm; he enters upon an

[1] Compare S. T. Collins, The Interpretation of Vergil with Special Reference to Macrobius (Oxford, 1909); Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, 63-69.

[2] In all these strange etymologies I have faithfully reproduced Fulgentius's transliteration and spelling of the Greek, according to the edition of Halm (Leipzig, 1898).

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illicit amour, typified by the Dido incident. Yielding himself to this, he is eventually warned by the intelligence, represented by Mercury, when he abandons his base passion, which being forgotten flickers away to ashes, represented by the death and the funeral pyre of Dido. Inspired by the memory of his father (Book 5), Aeneas devotes himself to manly pursuits, represented by the funeral games of Anchises. The boxing-match between Entellus and Dares signifies the pursuit of truth. The burning of the ships symbolizes the action of the reasoning mind in rising superior to material considerations and destroying the means of further wandering.

In Book 6 Aeneas comes to the temple of Apollo and descends to the lower regions, where Apollo represents the god of the mind. First Aeneas is freed from false opinion, typified by the loss of Palinurus (Palinurus enim quasi planonorus, id est errabunda visio), and from vainglory, symbolized in the burial of Misenus, for *misio* in Greek means 'hate', and *enos* means 'praise'. Thus purified, he procures the golden bough, which is the wisdom which lays open all hidden knowledge, and he undertakes philosophical studies, i. e. the descent into Hades. Vergil here refers to the ancient legend that his mother had dreamed of having given birth to a bough, and establishes this as the reason for making the bough play such a prominent rôle. On entering the lower regions the young man sees first the cares of life. Then led by Charon, who is time, he crosses the boiling tide of youth (Acheron), and hears the dissensions of men (the barking of Cerberus), which are soothed and quieted by the honey of wisdom (the sop to Cerberus). In the lower world he sees Dido, typifying the remembrance of youthful folly; and comes to a knowledge of good and evil, represented by the punishments inflicted upon the wrongdoers. He enters the Elysian fields, symbolizing the freedom of life after the regulations imposed in childhood by those in authority, and sees his father Anchises, and the river Lethe, the first representing the dignity of manhood, the second the forgetting of youthful folly.

In Book 7 Aeneas frees himself from all supervision (burial of the nurse Caieta), and reaches Ausonia, that is, increase of good, for which the desires of all men are eager, and seeks as his wife Lavinia, that is, the path of labor. In Book 8 he seeks the help of Euander, for Euander in Greek signifies 'good man', and from him learns of the conquest of virtue over vice, represented by the story of Hercules and Cacus. In the remaining four books Aeneas girds himself with all the Roman virtues (the arms of Vulcan), and joins battle with Turnus (anger), whose allies are Mezentius (impiety), Messapus (folly), Iuturna (obstinacy), and Metiscus (drunkenness). Finally Wisdom and Virtue are triumphant.

The whole of this work of Fulgentius is a distorted product of misapplied industry. It is loaded with the wildest etymologies, of which those quoted are typical examples. In one passage the author wanders so far from actualities as to make Vergil quote Petronius. There is no order or balance in the arrangement of material; several pages are devoted to the elucidation of a few phrases, while whole books are passed over in a few words. Not infrequently the course of the exposition is broken by long digressions; in one place the argument becomes so confused that Vergil is made to speak as though he were Fulgentius. It is noteworthy that most detail is lavished upon Book 6, in conformity with the superstition that this book contained more hidden wisdom than any other. Servius had given expression to this view in the note prefixed to the book:

'All Vergil is full of wisdom, in which respect this book, a large part of which is taken from Homer, holds the chief place. In it there are some things stated simply, many are taken from history, and many others from the profound sciences of Egyptian philosophy and theology, so that people have written whole dissertations on individual passages in it'.

The Vergil of Fulgentius is different in his delineation from that of any previous writer. The early biographers of Vergil have represented him as a genial person, modest and retiring, dear to his friends, and shunning publicity. The Vergil of Fulgentius, on the other hand, is a haughty, cold, and arrogant spirit, a mystic, possessing a vast fund of weird and unholy knowledge. Here we have the first indication in Christian Latinity of the regular medieval type of wise man, who in his demeanor and character partakes of the darkness in which all knowledge is shrouded. Learning had become so rare that its possession was an occult attribute; the scholar was not to be distinguished from the warlock who held unholy communion with spirits, and gained his wisdom through his control over the mysterious forces of nature.

The Vergil of Fulgentius may be considered a logical development of tendencies which may be noticed elsewhere in the Christian writers. The very earliest of the patristic authors looked upon Vergil primarily as a literary figure; the classical age was too near for them to do otherwise. After this the tradition gradually developed; Vergil was esteemed an authority on questions of all sorts. This culminated in writing of the type of Macrobius, where the most extraordinary powers are claimed for him. The Vergil of Fulgentius is really no more than the logical extension of the same view with the superimposition of the mystic elements demanded by the taste of the period.

UNION COLLEGE HARRISON CADWALLADER COFFIN

REVIEWS

P. Cornelii Taciti De Germania. Edited by Alfred Gudeman. Berlin: Weidmann (1916). Pp. viii + 272.

Dr. Gudeman's edition of the Germania of Tacitus is a worthy addition to the Weidmann series of annotated Classics, including such excellent volumes as the Weissenborn-Müller Livy, the Kiessling-Heinze Horace, and Kroll's edition of the Orator of Cicero. It is based largely on his American edition of the Germania, published in 1900 by Allyn and Bacon, though this has been extensively revised and enlarged.

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The extensive introduction (49 pages) takes up the same topics as the American edition: the origin and the purpose of the Germania, the sources, trustworthiness, style. In the discussion of the purpose of the Germania, Dr. Gudeman adds two new points in criticism of the theory that the work was written purely as a satire on degenerate Rome in contrast to virile Germany. The two points, which are somewhat inconsistent, are that Tacitus is not blind to the faults of the Germans, and that he was forced to praise the Germans because the description of a people, as of an individual, belonged to encomiastic literature. As before, Dr. Gudeman rejects also the theory that the work is a political pamphlet and concludes that it is a by-product of Tacitus's historical studies.

In dealing with the sources the editor follows his former procedure of rejecting various works and decides that the important sources are Livy, Pliny's Bella Germaniae, and Posidonius. Besides, Tacitus got information, he believes, from persons who had first-hand knowledge of the country, though he himself had no personal acquaintance with it. He also used a map. In these conclusions there are certain divergences from the earlier edition. In this he had said of Livy: ". . . any direct indebtedness to this historian is, to say the least, not intrinsically plausible"; now he includes Livy among the sources. His argument is very flimsy—but it must be said that he puts it forward very cautiously. In the Germania, Chapter 3, Tacitus says, quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est. As is well known, this expression is found in Livy, Praef. 6, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est, and again in 5.21.9, neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est. Dr. Gudeman grants that Tacitus borrowed from Livy, but he argues that it is psychologically improbable that Tacitus should have remembered this particular phrase from his earlier reading of *Livius ingens*. His explanation is that Livy may have used the phrase again in his description of Germany and that Tacitus found it there. But I cannot see the psychological improbability which troubles Dr. Gudeman. Most of us recall single striking phrases from books we read years ago. And, besides, is it not entirely likely that Tacitus often reread the famous Preface of Livy?

With regard to Posidonius, Dr. Gudeman said in the English edition, ". . . it is to the highest degree probable, though not susceptible of absolute proof, that Posidonius" was one of the sources which Tacitus used in the Germania. In the German edition this statement is made stronger. The hypothesis can now 'scarcely be disputed', and 'is made to appear scientifically unobjectionable'. I claim no special knowledge of this subject, but it strikes me that the statement in the new edition is too strong. There has been a great wave of Posidonianism in recent years, especially among German scholars. One can achieve a reputation easily by tracing the relation of one more author, Greek or Roman, to this fountain head of wisdom[1]. Perhaps Dr. Gudeman is right in assertingt he dependence of Tacitus on Posidonius, but the layman in such matters may be forgiven for being sceptical when he meets the name of Posidonius. He has heard the cry of 'Wolf' too often.

Dr. Gudeman argues that the identification of Germanic and Greek (Roman) gods in the Germania must go back to Posidonius, as the Romans were incapable of making this identification. We may answer that the history of the original Roman religion has been obscured just because the Romans were too facile in identifying their gods with those of the peoples with whom they came in contact. In Germania 43 Tacitus expressly calls the identification of the German twin brothers with Castor and Pollux an *interpretatio Romana*. Dr. Gudeman says this must be an *interpretatio Graeca*, because Pollux was adopted by the Romans at a relatively late date. But that date was long before the time of Posidonius.

In the matter of the trustworthiness of the Germania, Dr. Gudeman holds to his former opinion, that, in matters of fact, Tacitus is entirely dependable, but that, in the interpretation of facts, in the attribution of motives and feelings, he is not.

The section on style and rhetoric covers essentially the same ground in the new edition as in the old. The march of events in the last twenty years has provided the editor with a new comparison for Tacitus's famous inconcinnity: it is similar to the musical dissonances of modern composers.

It would be incorrect to say that the commentary is at the bottom of the page: rather one may say that the text is at the top, for it averages only about ½ inch (a little over 3 lines) to the page, while the commentary takes up about 5½ inches of smaller type. As the text is based on that of the fifth edition by Halm-Andresen (Teubner, 1915), we need not discuss it here. The 63 divergences from that edition are discussed in a critical appendix. Most of these are also found in the appendix to the English edition. Dr. Gudeman's attitude towards the newly-found Iesi manuscript is that of most German scholars (as against the Italians, Annibaldi and Sabbadini), that it is not a direct copy of the lost Hersfeldensis. Annibaldi's edition in the Corpus Paravianum appeared too late to be seen by Dr. Gudeman. The suggestions in the appendix include few novelties of importance. In two instances the editor prefers the reading of E (the Iesi MS.) to that of the Teubner text: 14, *virtute principem* (so also Annibaldi); 16, *imitentur* (where even Annibaldi reads *imitetur*). *Inscientia* (16), the reading of the lost Hersfeldensis, according to the Italian humanist, Decembrio, is preferred to *inscitia*, the reading of the extant MSS. Occasionally Dr. Gudeman abandons an emendation and returns to the manuscript reading: 8, *Auriniam*; 28, *Germanorum natione*; 30, *ratione*

[1] There have been protests; in this country may be mentioned e. g. protests by Professor Knapp, in his review of Norden, P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis VI (American Journal of Philology 27 [1906], 79), by Dr. Jones, in his dissertation, The Platonism of Plutarch, 53 ff., and in his review of Gronau, Poseidonios und die Juedisch-Christliche Genesisexegese (Classical Philology 12 [1917], 107 ff.), by Professor Shorey, in his review of Jaeger, Nemesios von Emesa (Classical Philology 10 [1915], 483 ff.), and by Professor Robbins, Posidonius and the Sources of Pythogorean Arithmology (Classical Philology 15 [1920], 309 ff.).

(for *Romanae*); 42, *peragitur*. Several emendations are suggested in the appendix but not adopted in the text: 26, *versuras*; 34, *sed superesse*; 34, [*Druso*]; 36, *fracti* (for *tracti*). A new and rather plausible conjecture adopted in the text is *horrentes capilli retro sequuntur . . . religantur* (38). Dr. Gudeman makes a strong argument against the accepted readings here, but does not do justice to the manuscript reading. Another new conjecture is 3, *et apud eos* (for *apud eos et*).

The commentary, as indicated above, is very full. Like that in the American edition, it contains numerous comments on the rhetorical devices of the Germania. It is also particularly rich in parallels for the meanings of words and for their uses in phrases. Dr. Gudeman believes that the resemblance of the opening lines of the Germania (Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur) to the beginning of Caesar's Gallic War is accidental. To me it seems a deliberate imitation—with a difference. By the inconcinnity of *metu* and *montibus* Tacitus intentionally indicates the difference between his rhetorical style and Caesar's simple style.

In Chapter 5 Tacitus tells us that the Germans prefer money which is *veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque*. Dr. Gudeman now says that Tacitus is either exaggerating or using an early source, as few such coins (which antedate 53 B. C.) have been found in Germany. But perhaps Tacitus is using his own more vivid expression, *serratos bigatosque*, in explanation of *veterem*. An analogy for this is the expression *vinum consulare*. Dr. Gudeman does not explain why the Germans preferred old money. The answer is implicit in *diu notam*: probably the Romans worked off spurious coins on them, *ut nunc*.

In Chapter 7 Dr. Gudeman reverts to an old explanation of *hortamina* as 'liquid refreshments'. For this he finds new parallels. But the thought of the next sentence would seem to indicate that the word has the original meaning of 'encouragement'.

In the American edition Dr. Gudeman, commenting on Chapter 9, found substantiation for supposing that the Germans worshiped natural objects, like the sun and the moon, as well as other gods, in the names of the days of the week: Sunday, Monday, as against Tuesday, etc. He overlooked the fact that the days of the week were named after the planets, not the gods. The statement has been omitted in the German edition.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA B. L. ULLMAN

History of Europe. Ancient and Medieval. By James Henry Breasted and James Harvey Robinson. Boston: Ginn and Company (1920). Pp. xiii + 665.

This review is confined to that portion of the volume which is included within Books I—IV, dealing with Earliest Man, The Orient, The Greeks, and The Romans. Professor Breasted, in these Books, covers the same ground which he had covered before in his numerous other publications, especially in his earlier text-books, Outlines of European History (1914), and Ancient Times (1916—see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10. 199-200). The present volume is based on the author's Outlines of European History. But the material has been condensed and quite thoroughly rewritten and rearranged. Many shifts in emphasis are the result and practically all are for the better. "More space has been given to Roman history and less to that of the ancient Orient", the Introduction tells us (iv). This is an improvement; but even now too large a proportion has been allotted to that earlier civilization, as the following figures show: 64 pages to the Orient, 111 pages to the Greeks, and 100 pages to the Romans. Formerly, as a protest against the blindness of historians to the indebtedness of Greece and Rome to the ancient Orient, a little overstress was pardonable, perhaps necessary. Such blindness no longer exists; so manifestly Professor Breasted's full knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, the Oriental field have disturbed his sense of proportion. For he has been guilty of a sin which the Introduction ascribes to former text-books on universal history: "The older books tended to give too much attention to the remote past and too little information in regard to recent history".

The extreme condensation necessary in so brief a manual makes adequate treatment of many important topics impossible. For example, there is no direct information given as to how the Delian League was transformed into an Athenian Empire, beyond the bare statement of that fact and the mention of the transferring of the treasury from Delos to Athens (131, 132, 150). The description of the battle of Leuctra, on page 160, is silent about the innovations in military science and practice which were among the chief factors in Alexander's easy conquest of Asia. Less than ten lines are devoted to the struggle of Demosthenes against Philip (170), in spite of all that contest symbolizes for every age. The story of the First Carthaginian War is told in one page. The student who uses this text-book will know nothing about the traditional 'slimness' of Roman diplomacy which precipitated the war and which helps to explain the rapid advance of Rome in the Mediterranean world. The work of the Gracchi is similarly dismissed in one page (230), which can not, and does not, give an adequate conception of the scope and of the importance of their attempted reforms. We hear nothing of the Mithridatic Wars and may well wonder what was going on in Asia Minor to call Sulla away from Rome and from his opponent Marius (234). These omissions are typical and, perhaps, unavoidable under the circumstances.

In regard to some matters of fact one might hold different opinions from those of Professor Breasted. The statement on page 95 concerning the authorship of the Homeric poems should have taken into account the very recent work done in this country on Homer. Certainly the Unitarians are having their inning to-day. On page 112 the severity of the Draconian code is affirmed without sufficient qualification; the most important laws, those dealing with homicide, were merciful

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for the period. In regard to Caesar's campaign in Spain against the Pompeians we read (238): "With his customary swiftness he was in Spain by June (49 B. C.). Here, by cutting off their supplies, he forced Pompey's commanders to surrender without a battle". This misstatement may be due to an effort to economize space. The fighting was very severe in the operations in front of Ilerda. Only after Caesar had been repulsed with serious loss and had narrowly escaped disaster did he finally catch Afranius and Petreius between the Sicoris and the Ebro, cut off their supplies, and force a surrender without further fighting. Professor Breasted repeats Plutarch's story of Antony's infatuation for Cleopatra as determining his action at Alexandria (241). Ferrero has very plausibly brought to the fore the political considerations which made such a union desirable. One should amend the statements on page 253 by stressing the capriciousness rather than the cruelty of Nero's despotism. But these are minor matters which do not detract from the quality of the book as a whole.

To compress within 300 pages, for text-book purposes, the history of the ancient world from earliest man down to the German invasions is a task of doubtful utility. My personal experience in teaching history to pupils in the Preparatory School (a very brief experience, I frankly confess) has seemed to indicate that they must have a liberal background of past *events* before they can be brought to understand past *conditions*, past *institutions*, and past *ideas*. This book might well be put into the hands of pupils who had studied ancient history more in detail and who desired a rapid approach to the history of medieval and modern times. With this reservation the work of Professor Breasted is worthy of the highest praise. Such severe economy of space demands frequent summarizing of periods. Nowhere, in an elementary textbook, have these summaries been better done. The author's recognition of the organic unity of history pervades the whole work and the importance of a knowledge of the past for the understanding of the present is everywhere strongly felt by the reader.

Excellent illustrations are interspersed through the book, many in colors. Not only are they numerous and felicitously chosen, but under each is a long descriptive legend which makes the illustrations an integral part of the text and leaves nothing to the uncertain information of the teacher. The maps are, on the whole, adequate. On page 178 the student is referred to the map on page 176 for Antioch; the site of the city, however, is not indicated there. An Appendix contains a selected bibliography of nineteen pages, with proper guidance of teacher and pupil to the most helpful and most accessible books, and a carefully compiled Index. The references to Professor Breasted's earlier book, Ancient Times scattered through the text should in any future revision be relegated to the footnotes. A careful reading has disclosed no typographical errors.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE WILLIAM STUART MESSER

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY VOLUME XXXI

Volume XXXI of Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, dated in 1920, contains four articles. as follows: The Religious Background of the Prometheus Vinctus, by J. A. K. Thomson (1–37); Τστερον Πρότερον Ὁμηρικῶς, Samuel E. Bassett (39–62); The Spirit of Comedy in Plato, William Chase Greene (63–123); Ithaca: A Study of the Homeric Evidence, Frank Brewster (125–166).

Professor Thomson is an English scholar, who was in residence as teacher at Harvard University 1919–1920. Professor Thomson holds that the Prometheus was not primarily concerned with the stealing of fire or with the invention of the arts or with the destiny of man. Both the Prometheus Vinctus and the Prometheus Solutus, and perhaps the whole trilogy, "has for its spring the fact that Prometheus knows who is destined to overthrow Zeus, and refuses to tell. That is why—and not, after all, because he stole the fire—that he is punished in the play. And that is why, when he reveals the secret, he is released".

Part of Professor Thomson's summing-up runs as follows (34–35: it is especially interesting in view of Professor Prentice's discussion of this play, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.26-29):

Behind the immediate question which divides Zeus and Prometheus, who is to be the next King of the Gods, rises the larger question of the respective values of the old and the new *régime*, the rule of the Titans and the rule of Zeus. Prometheus, although at first he had sided with Zeus against his brethren, in the *Vinctus* has definitely ranged himself on the side of the Titans. Now to the Greek mind, and perhaps more particularly to the Athenian mind, the Titans stood for something very definite. They were the forces of lawlessness . . . . The service of Zeus was to introduce law and order into the government of the universe. It is easy for us to admit the truth of this in words; it is not easy to realize the intensity of Greek emotion about it. In the centuries between us and ancient Hellas the balance of material power has shifted. The advantage of force is now with Civilization and not with Barbarism: at least we have grown up in that belief. Accordingly we have acquired the habit of regarding the Barbarian with toleration and even a certain admiration, more or less sincere, for his picturesqueness and naturalness. That is because we no longer fear him . . . . The ancient Greek was not insensible to the romantic attraction of Barbarism. But he was in constant and deadly peril from it, and therefore in acute fear of it. So he came to attach what seems to us an excessive value to the virtues in which the Barbarian is specially deficient—self-control and respect for the law. Hellenism is the correlative of Barbarism. It was in contact with the Barbarian, Thucydides tells us, that Hellenism first became conscious of itself. Liberty . . . , according to the Greek maxim, is the Reign of Law, and Hellenism is based on *Eleutheria*. In Greek religion the Titans represented, at least to reflective minds, the spirit of lawlessness: they were the Barbarians of the divine world. Zeus on the other hand represented the Reign of Law. . . (Plato, *Crit. ad fin.*). Not only Plato but Aeschylus speaks like this. Zeus may have been relentless enough at first, but he did at least check the anarchy of the Titans and establish a Law. Hence Greek sympathy is with Zeus, because Greek sympathy is with the Law.

Professor Bassett's paper is an investigation suggested by a Greek phrase which Cicero uses, Ad Atticum 1.16.1 (this Greek phrase Professor Bassett takes as the title of his paper). He believes that Cicero had in mind a kind of hysteron proteron in Homer, by which a person questioned answers the questions in reverse order, or a person, replying to a speech, takes up its points in reverse order. A simple instance of this is in Iliad 1.159 ff. In this speech Achilles says two things: 'We came to win honor for you', and 'Now I will take me back to Phthia'. Agamemnon in reply says, 'Flee by all means', 'I have others by my side to do me honor'! In a word, at the beginning of a speech or of a narrative the poet dwells first on what is uppermost or freshest in the mind of the characters of the story, the listeners, or the poet himself. Cicero himself, Ad Atticum 1.16.1, states two questions which Atticus had asked him concerning the outcome of the trial of Clodius. He then says, respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον Ὁμηρικῶς. And in fact he answers the questions in reverse order.

Professor Bassett has made the very interesting discovery (47) that, in a Scholuim on Iliad 2.763, belonging to the middle of the first century B. C., there is evidence that Aristarchus, long before Cicero's time, "had recognized Homer's fondness for making his characters reply to a two-fold or plural question in the reverse order".

Professor Bassett's observations are of great importance in the general criticism of the Homeric poems. Thus, he says (50–51).

. . . Certainly the Chorizontes and the other Dismemberers of Homer should be asked to explain why, if their theory of divers authors is correct, a feature of style so marked as this is found not only in both Iliad and Odyssey, but in parts which they regard as of widely differing dates, the Second Necyia and the Telemachy, as well as the Apologue and the Vengeance, and the Doloneia, the Diomedeia, and the Embassy to Achilles, as well as the Menis.

With this use of 'hysteron proteron' in Homer, Professor Bassett links many other features peculiar to Homer, which scholars both ancient and modern have pointed out, all bearing on the great poet's matchless art.

Professor Greene calls attention (64) to the presence in the dialogues of Plato of amusing phrases, homely proverbs, and racy metaphors. The characters, too, are drawn with the comic writer's care for realistic detail and the exaggeration of significant traits (64–65). Comedy of incident is everywhere abundant, especially in the opening scenes of the dialogues (65). An exceptionally good instance here is the spirited narrative at the beginning of the Protagoras (66). On almost every page there is ridicule, sometimes courteous, sometimes veiled, often outspoken, of Plato's adversaries (66–69).

Mr. Greene then traces the presence of the comic spirit in various dialogues: the Apology (71–73), Euthyphro (73–74), the Crito (75), Protagoras (76–77), Meno (78–81: "The comedy in the dialogue cannot be missed by any reader: it is 'of all the dialogues of Plato that in which he approaches most nearly to the comic poet' "), Symposium (87–90: "From the point of view of form, the *Symposium* is the most perfect comedy among the dialogues of Plato"), the Republic (97–108), etc.

Mr. Greene sums up, on pages [121–123:]

. . . It is, however, with confidence that we may claim for him a place among the world's great comic writers—Aristophanes, Juvenal, Cervantes, Moliere, Shakespeare, and Meredith,—who have known how to hold something very sacred, and to express it perhaps most often by methods of indirection. . . . the Platonic dialogues . . . may often be best understood as philosophical mimes . . . .

Again, with due caution, a gradual progression in Plato's adventures in comedy may be detected. At first we found him chronicling with great freedom the method and the partial results of Socrates. Next we saw him proceed, in the spirit of comedy, to use the dialectic method to get rid of obstacles and to throw problems into relief, having his own conclusions in mind in each dialogue, though not fully aware, of course, of the conclusions that he was to reach later. Then in the golden dialogues of his prime, we noticed how he evoked so vivid an ideal world that he was able to assume it as present, and contrasted with it in a comic spirit the paltry 'facts' of this imperfect world. And, finally, in the last great dialogues in which Plato endeavoured to bring ideals and facts together, we looked for comedy almost in vain; it proved to be incidental.

Mr. Brewster thinks it not unlikely that poems which gave stories of trading or viking cruises were known to Homer and used by him. Such stories may well have described, correctly, sea-routes used by the Greeks, and the harbors of the west coast of Greece; from them Homer may have drawn his description, in Odyssey 9, of Ithaca. All the evidence, Mr. Brewster holds, points to the historic Ithaca as the home of Odysseus (see especially 151–161).

C. K.

PROFESSOR MURRAY ON ARISTOTLE'S ART OF POETRY

The Oxford University Press reissued, in 1920, a translation of Aristotle, on the Art of Poetry, by Ingram Bywater, which forms part of that scholar's well known edition of the Art of Poetry. This reissue deserves special mention, however, because to it Professor Gilbert Murray has contributed a Preface (1–20).

Professor Murray begins by reminding us that Plato, in Republic 10, having completed his final burning denunciation of poetry, the false siren,

ends with a touch of compunction: 'We will give her champions, not poets themselves but poet-lovers, an opportunity to make her defence in plain prose and show that she is not only sweet—as we well know—but also helpful to society and the life of man, and we will listen in a kindly spirit. For we shall be gainers, I take it, if this can be proved'. Aristotle certainly knew the passage, and it looks as if his treatise on poetry was an answer to Plato's challenge.

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On pages 5–11 Professor Murray writes in a very interesting way of the difficulties of translation in general, and in particular of translating the Poetics of Aristotle. On this theme he begins thus (5–6):

To understand a great foreign book by means of a translation is possible enough where the two languages concerned operate with a common stock of ideas, and belong to the same period of civilization. But between ancient Greece and modern England there yawn immense gulfs of human history; the establishment and the partial failure of a common European religion, the barbarian invasions, the feudal system, the regrouping of modern Europe, the age of mechanical invention, and the industrial revolution. In an average page of French or German philosophy nearly all the nouns can be translated directly into exact equivalents in English; but in Greek that is not so. Scarcely one in ten of the nouns on the first few pages of the *Poetics* has an exact English equivalent. Every proposition has to be reduced to its lowest terms of thought and then re-built. This is a difficulty which no translation can quite deal with; it must be left to a teacher who knows Greek. And there is a kindred difficulty which flows from it. Where words can be translated into equivalent words, the style of an original can be closely followed; but no translation which aims at being written in normal English can reproduce the style of Aristotle.

He then discusses in detail what would be the effect of what he chooses to call a "ruthlessly literal translation, helped out by bold punctuation" (6). An example of this would be a translation of the words *poesis*, *poetes*, by 'making' and 'maker'. Then, on this basis, on pages 6–8 he translates the first paragraph of the Poetics. Such translation, he maintains (8), will illuminate what would otherwise seem a puzzle in the Poetics.

If we wonder why Aristotle, and Plato before him, should lay such stress on the theory that art is imitation, it is a help to realize that common language called it 'making', and it was clearly not 'making' in the ordinary sense. The poet who was 'maker' of a Fall of Troy clearly did not make the real Fall of Troy. He made an imitation Fall of Troy. An artist who 'painted Pericles' really 'made an imitation Pericles by means of shapes and colours'. Hence we get started upon a theory of art which, whether finally satisfactory or not, is of immense importance, and are saved from the error of complaining that Aristotle did not understand the 'creative power' of art.

On page 10 there is a brief discussion of the words *prattein* and *praxis*. Professor Murray agrees with Professor Margoliouth in thinking that *prattein* means to 'fare', rather than to 'do'. Tragedy shows how men 'fare' rather than how they 'act'. It shows their experiences or fortunes rather than merely their deeds.

But, he continues, we must not attempt to draw very closely to the meanings of Greek words. We ought not, for instance, to spend time in arguing whether by *hamartia* Aristotle meant an intellectual error or a moral flaw. The word is not so precise.

Professor Murray sees another series of obscurities or confusions in the Poetics, in the fact that Aristotle was writing at a time when the great age of Greek tragedy was long past, and was using language formed in previous generations, without always analyzing his terms with sufficient care, if he analyzed them at all. Very often, says Professor Murray, Aristotle takes his terms for granted; in this case, he is sometimes deceived by them, being affected in his conceptions of fifth-century tragedy by the practice of his own day, when the only living form of drama was the New Comedy.

One of the words Aristotle misunderstands is the word *muthos*. Again, says Professor Murray (13–14), Aristotle had lost the sense of what the Chorus was in the hands of the great masters, say in the Bacchae or in the Eumenides.

Professor Murray concludes his Preface by an interesting statement of the value, from his point of view, of the Poetics (17–20).

It is gratifying to have Professor Bywater's translation in so convenient a form. His complete edition of the Poetics, with Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes was published by the Oxford Clarendon Press in 1909. For an elaborate review of the book, the first full commentary in English on the Poetics, by Professor Herbert Richards, see The Classical Review 24 (1910) 85–90. Mr. Richards characterizes the translation as "a model of accuracy" (87). In American Journal of Philology 30 (1909), 474, Professor Gildersleeve, in Brief Mention, in passing, declares that Professor Bywater has "accompanied his great edition of Aristotle's *Art of Poetry* . . . with what may be called an expository translation". Professor Mitchell Carroll reviews the book in American Journal of Philology 32 (1912), 85–91. For another review, by W. S. Milner, see Classical Philology 6 (1911), 97–99.

It is worth while to add that the one translation of the Poetics published in America was made, not by a professional classicist, but by a professor of English, Professor Lane Cooper. In 1913, he published, through Ginn and Company, a book called Aristotle on the Art of Poetry: An Amplified Version With Supplementary Illustrations for Students of English. For a notice of this book, by the late Professor J. R. Wheeler, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.40.

Some readers will be glad, doubtless, to be reminded of a book called Ingram Bywater: The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840–1914, by W. W. Jackson, reviewed by Professor G. S. Scoggin, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.110.

C. K.

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Organized in November, 1906
Membership April 11, 1921, 724

Dues - - - - - $2.00 per annum

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorised on June 28, 1918.

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, No. 6 MONDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1921 WHOLE NO. 402

THE TESTING-PROGRAM INVOLVED IN THE LATIN INVESTIGATION NOW UNDER WAY

One of the most important phases of the Latin Investigation which is being conducted under the joint auspices of the American Classical League and the General Education Board involves a general survey of the actual results of Latin teaching and an attempt to provide, for any weakness disclosed, a remedy, through contemporaneous experimental classes in which modifications of method and content are made.

The Committee plans to conduct this survey partly through a series of tests divided into several groups. One group is intended to test those specific abilities with respect to English which it is claimed the study of Latin develops. Another group is to deal with analogous problems in connection with Modern Languages. A third group will deal with the development of power over the Latin language itself and its various elements. A fourth group will deal with the development in the Latin class of certain habits and ideals which are subject to spread.

The shortness of the time available for the survey made it desirable to begin the tests at once; consequently, the first group of tests mentioned above, which are intended to measure the relative growth of Latin and non-Latin pupils in certain specific abilities in English, was begun this September.

By means of this first series of tests it is expected that it will be possible to determine whether Latin pupils are inferior or superior or equal to non-Latin pupils in their *initial* equipment in the specific abilities tested. The tests to be given later in the year should make it possible to determine whether the Latin pupils have made more or less or equal progress in this field as compared with non-Latin pupils. Contemporaneous with this general survey, which will extend over the next two years, there will be a controlled experiment including a few Schools only, in which the effort will be made to discover what conditions as to content and method are most favorable for the development of these specific abilities.

It may be emphasized at this point that the purpose of this testing-program is not to demonstrate a superiority of Latin pupils over non-Latin pupils and thereby to justify the presence of Latin in the curriculum. The purpose is rather to discover whether or not Latin is doing what it claims to be doing, and, if the survey discloses any definite weakness, to provide a remedy.

The tests given in September were for the purpose of measuring five elements in the development of power over English.

(1) General reading ability.—This is tested by the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale.

(2) Capacity for expression.—This is tested by the writing of compositions to be graded on standard composition scales.

(3) Command of English vocabulary in general.—This is tested by the Thorndike Word Knowledge Test.

(4) Command of that portion of the English vocabulary which is derived from Latin words ordinarily occurring in First Year Latin books.—This is tested by Carr's English Vocabulary Test.

(5) Command of English grammar, both functional and formal.—This is tested by Charters's Diagnostic Language and Grammar Test on Pronouns.

The general aim which the Committee has in mind with respect to any one of these tests may be indicated by extracts from Bulletin 19 published by it, entitled General Purpose of the Test Based on Carr's English Vocabulary Test. Similar bulletins have been sent to the Schools giving the particular test involved.

Among the objectives commonly found in any list of the aims of Latin study is power over the English language. This general objective may be analyzed into several specific objectives. Among these is increased ability to understand the less familiar English words derived directly or indirectly from Latin.

By means of the Carr English Vocabulary Test the Committee seeks to attack the two problems presented by this objective, namely, the measurement of the actual results obtained to-day and provision for improvement in these results. These problems will be studied contemporaneously.

A. The first problem involves a test of the *rate* of *progress* made by Latin pupils in this field as compared with non-Latin pupils. By means of a preliminary equating test the initial superiority of Latin pupils over non-Latin pupils will first be determined and allowance made for this superiority in later tests. The relative rates of progress of the two groups during the next year and a half or, wherever possible, during the next two years will be carefully studied and measured.

The Carr test is a 'padded' test. It is not a random sampling of the entire English vocabulary, nor even of that portion which should be mastered by High School pupils. The Latin element in the test consists of a selection of English words derived from Latin words ordinarily occurring in First Year Latin books. It is therefore an especially valuable instrument for determining the extent to which this objective is attained throughout the country. It should prove especially valuable in enabling the Committee to determine what methods secure the best results.

The Committee expects to have the results examined and interpreted by men whose standing and impartiality are unquestioned. It should constantly be borne in mind by all cooperating Schools that this *is not an*

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attempt to prove the value of Latin. It is an attempt to discover the weak points in Latin teaching and to provide a remedy. To secure the facts requires the use of the comparative method and this, in turn, might possibly suggest that we are seeking to defend Latin and Greek.

As a result of this survey and of the supplementary questionnaire the Committee hopes to obtain the facts regarding the extent to which this objective is actually attained to-day, and the conditions under which it is best attained.

B. Contemporaneously with this investigation, the Committee expects to establish in connection with some Department of Education experimental classes in which this particular objective will be consciously and definitely aimed at on the basis of carefully determined content and methods. As the result of such an experiment the Committee hopes to be able to make such recommendations as to content and method as will insure better results in this particular field. This part of the problem will involve also a careful investigation into the methods employed in such Schools as are found in the general survey to have had marked success in attaining this particular objective.

Bulletin 20, outlining the general purpose of the Charters test, contains this paragraph:

It will be noted that it is the functional side of grammar that is emphasized in this test. The formal side of grammar is also involved, but this will be subjected to further inquiry in a different test. It will also be noted that this is not a 'padded' test, that is, no effort has been made to select test material to which the training in Latin would particularly apply. Later a 'padded' test, corresponding to the Carr 'padded' test in English vocabulary, will be constructed.

Bulletin 21, which outlines the general purpose of the Thorndike Test of Word Knowledge, contains the following paragraph:

The Thorndike Test, in contrast to the Carr English Vocabulary Test, is a general test based upon a random sampling from the words securing a credit sum of 1 or more in Thorndike's investigation (see Teachers College Record, September, 1921, and Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book). It therefore measures the growth of the pupils in the entire field covered by the sampling. This test will be especially valuable in establishing norms that should be attained by pupils at the end of one, two, three, or four years of Latin.

The response to this testing-program throughout the country has been very general, so general, in fact, that on October 1 it was found necessary to close the first series and to invite the Schools requesting tests after that date to cooperate with the survey in other ways.

The following summary will indicate the geographical scope of the survey and the distribution of the tests.

I. Number of Schools participating 164
II. Number of States represented 38
III. Number of Schools in each State:

California	4	Missouri	5
Colorado	1	Montana	1
Connecticut	2	New Jersey	6
Delaware	1	New Hampshire	2
District of Columbia	4	New Mexico	1
Georgia	2	New York	20
Idaho	3	North Carolina	3
Illinois	8	North Dakota	1
Indiana	7	Ohio	20
Iowa	3	Oklahoma	1
Kansas	3	Pennsylvania	17
Kentucky	8	Rhode Island	1
Louisiana	1	South Carolina	2
Maine	7	South Dakota	1
Maryland	1	Tennessee	2
Massachusetts	4	Texas	2
Michigan	4	Vermont	2
Minnesota	2	Washington	2
Mississippi	3	Wisconsin	7

IV. Number of Schools taking the Carr English Vocabulary Test 100
V. Number of Schools taking the Charters Diagnostic Language and Grammar Test (Pronouns) 66
VI. Number of Schools taking the Thorndike Test of Word Knowledge 67
VII. Number of Schools taking the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale Test 130
VIII. Number of Schools taking the English Composition Test approximately 20
IX. Total number of pupils taking each test:

Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale Test	25,000
Carr English Vocabulary Test A	23,000
Thorndike Test of Word Knowledge	12,000
Charters Diagnostic Language and Grammar Test	10,000

X. Number of Schools taking four tests 32
XI. Number of Schools taking three tests 21
XII. Number of Schools taking two tests 80
XIII. Number of Schools taking one test 18

Several special problems have developed in connection with this first series in the solution of which the cooperation of a number of Schools will be cordially welcomed.

(1) The Thorndike Test of Word Knowledge is being used to measure progress in English vocabulary in general. There are four forms of this test. In order to interpret the results correctly it will be necessary to equate the four forms. This can be done only by giving all four forms in about eight Schools which have not thus far given any of them. The four forms are to be given about a week apart (in a certain order to be specified for each School) to about 100 pupils in the first term of the first year of High School (Ninth Grade).

(2) It is important to have the Carr English Vocabulary Test and the Thorndike Word Knowledge Test given at the end of this year to a number of Schools that have not participated in the initial tests, in order to correct any effect which the initial tests may have had upon subsequent instruction during the year in the Schools where they were given. About twelve Schools will be needed for this test. This procedure will also make it possible to establish norms for Latin and non-Latin pupils at the end of the Ninth Year.

(3) One of the most important objects of giving the Thorndike Test of Word Knowledge is to make it possible to determine what English words may be regarded as probably familiar at the beginning of each Grade from the Seventh to the Twelfth, and as the complement of this to determine what unfamiliar English words derived from Latin should be taught each year

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To do this the cooperation of about 20 School systems is needed in each of which about 100 pupils may be tested at the beginning of each Grade from the Seventh to the Twelfth (except the Ninth, which is already sufficiently accounted for). This process will also make it possible to establish definite norms of progress for each year of the course.

(4) In order to profit by the experience secured in giving this first series of tests, it has been found desirable to follow it up with a duplicate series to begin in about 20 Schools in January, 1922, in Schools not participating in the first series, and to continue for three terms. This duplicate series will serve as a check upon the first and will render it possible to avoid difficulties and complications inevitably arising in the pioneer stage.

If any School principal or Latin teacher is willing to assist the Committee in one or more of these four problems, his cooperation will be welcomed. An inquiry addressed to either of the Special Investigators (Professor W. L. Carr, 40 South Professor Street, Oberlin, Ohio; Dr. Mason D. Gray, East High School, Rochester, New York) will bring full information.

W. L. CARR,
MASON D. GRAY

REVIEWS

Psychology and Folk-Lore. By R. R. Marett, Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford; University Reader in Social Anthropology. London and New York: The Macmillan Company (1920). Pp. viii + 275.

This book is a republication of eleven addresses, essays, and reviews of the years 1914–1918, in which Mr. Marett discusses the principles and the methods of anthropology. His aim is to improve the methods of research, particularly in the branch of anthropology known as folk-lore. The contents are as follows:

I. Psychology and Folk-Lore (1–26); II. War and Savagery (27–48); III. Primitive Values (49–71); IV. The Psychology of Culture-Contact (72–98); V. The Transvaluation of Culture (99–119); VI. The Interpretation of Survivals (120–142); VII. Origin and Validity in Religion (143–167); VIII. Magic or Religion? (168–195); IX. The Primitive Medicine-Man (196-222); X. Progress in Prehistoric Times (223–241); XI. Anthropology and University Education (246–272); Index (273–275).

The term folk-lore, invented by N. J. Thoms, in 1846, is first of all descriptive of the interests of the philological school in the myths and the legends surviving among European peoples. But, with the rise of the anthropological school, of which W. Mannhardt (1831–1880) was the forerunner, customs and beliefs also became important subject-matter for the folklorist, and, aiming at a deeper comprehension, he extended his investigations to include the culture of the savage races, to which the publications of the English and American Folk-Lore Societies give large space. However, folk-lore as distingusished from anthropology has for its special province the antiquated customs and beliefs that survive, or have at some period survived, in modern times, chiefly among the illiterate peasants of Europe. In the study of mankind it is important to gain as far as possible a sympathetic insight into the mental processes of simple peoples, and the approach to this is the peasant at our doors.

Says Mr. Marett (19):

> From folk-lore to the anthropology of savages,—that, I am sure, is the only sound method in social psychology. Not the child, as some have thought, but the peasant is the true middle term of the anthropological syllogism.

Addressing the English Folk-Lore Society he advises its members (15) to take part in folk dances, folk songs, etc., as some have done, and to

> proceed to the observation of the peasant's behaviour in the like case, so as to infer as best one can how allowance is to be made for the necessary differences in the accompanying frame of mind . . . . you are not in a position to explain a human institution until, by direct experience, or by sympathetic self-projection from close at hand, you are enabled to speak about it as an insider <15, 23>.

Insight into the life of the peasant and through him of savages will enable the folk-lorist to get a better understanding of human nature in history, whether savage or civilized: ". . . we must school ourselves to discern the past as it lives on in the present" (18).

The title of the first address was originally Folk-lore and Psychology (Folklore, London, 1914); but, having reversed the order of the nouns in the title, the author now says (Preface, vii),

> The title is borrowed from the first paper, but provides a fair notion of the general scope of the book. The prevailing interest is throughout psychological, and whatever is not folk-lore in the strict sense belongs at least to anthropology.

The topics in Chapters II and III were suggested by the Great War. It is unfortunate that ferocity and brutality are associated with the word *savage* (Latin *silvaticus*), for numerous tribes of savages, who live in 'protected' districts, are known to be peaceable. An aggressive European is apt, of course, to condemn a spirited group of wild folk: "Cet animal est très méchant—quand on l'attaque, il se défend" (36). However (35),

> Mere innocence does not amount to positive merit as we judge it who are the inheritors and sustainers of a culture elaborated in the world's area of central struggle and most typical characterization.

Indeed, war has been to a certain extent a civilizing agent, promoting manhood and organization. Interesting illustrations from modern savages are cited. Even so, warfare has been secondary to the peaceful social tendencies of mankind. It is an error to say that human progress has been from militancy to industrialism. The warfare of savages seems petty when compared with that of civilized nations. "There

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is war in the very blood of us" (45). We can only hope for the development in time of a rational control of righteous indignation to take the place of the "hair-trigger organization" of soul peculiar to the savage.

Discussing Primitive Values, Mr. Marett takes issue with Nietzsche, "who suggests that the natural man values power simply as a means of self-aggrandizement and the exploitation of his fellows" (69), whereas anthropology shows that the savage (69)

would seem to value *mana*, fruitful as he knows it to be, not merely for the good works it enables him to perform, but also, and even chiefly, for what it is in itself, namely, a quickening and enlargement of the spirit. His will for power, in the form which has alone found clear expression in his philosophy, is a will for confidence and peace of mind.

"From first to last the kingdom of man is within" (50).

In the Psychology of Culture-Contact, Mr. Marett gives a detailed comparison of the work of Edward B. Tylor and that of Laurence Gomme, both recently deceased. Both recognized evolutionary as well as historical forces; but Tylor relied on the principle of parallel and independent growth, Gomme on that of mutual influence by culture-contact. Tylor used a world-wide plan for comparative treatment, Gomme made stratigraphical analysis of British folk-custom with the special object of detecting what different strands of ethnic influence are involved in the complex. Tylor is the exponent of the psychological or evolutionary method, Gomme of the sociological, ethnological, or historical method. Of Gomme, Mr. Marett says (88):

Gomme's special merit, however, consists in having formulated the principle of method that institutions need, first and foremost, to be studied in their local context . . . . Before we proceed to trace historical connexions between different areas of culture on the strength of the geographical distribution of customs, we must have worked out the topographical distribution of customs within the several areas concerned, so as to make sure that in each case the things compared are themselves envisaged in the light of their authentic development.

In view of the diverging ethnological, evolutionary, and psychological tendencies of method among the members of the Folk-Lore Society of England, Mr. Marett suggests, in the name of Tylor and Gomme, who realized that the paths to the truth are converging, that their divided forces be brought to bear unitedly on the theme of the psychology of culture-contact. In developing this idea he discusses the views of Dr. Rivers (in his History of Melanesian Society), who seems to think that the time is not yet ripe for psychological analysis, and yet Dr. Rivers (92)

has passed on from sociology to ethnology, and from ethnology to psychology, with a progressive enlargement of outlook which makes his book a classic for all those who wish to study method in the making.

Chapter V, The Transvaluation of Culture, emphasizes the fact (106, 107) that

There never was a time, in short, when the interplay of old and new did not go on, exactly as it does now—when survival and revival, degeneration and regeneration, were not pulsating together in the rhythm of the social life. . . . Let it, then, be an article of our creed to recognize the imminence of folk-lore. Old-fashioned stuff though it may be, it belongs to the here and now; and so may at any moment renew its youth in the way that old fashions have . . . . Does the transvaluation of culture, then, supply the formula we want? I suggest that it will be found adequate.

The terms 'degeneration' and 'survival' imply a moribund state; but "revolution from below", though not so common, must also be recognized, often joined with "revolution from without" (110).

An invading people, let us suppose, which possesses a higher culture, or a culture that is at any rate secure in its predominancy, engages more or less consciously in a policy of race-amalgamation. Being in a position to pick and choose, it can dignify certain elements of the local custom at the expense of others; and it may well be that such patronage is lent rather to the institutions of the lower orders, who have to be conciliated as future subjects, than to those of the former aristocracy which is once for all dethroned . . . . Apart, too, from conditions of culture-contact. . . the history of religion is full of revivals that force their way up from below. . . . Or, again, good examples of this kind of transvaluation are obtained from the study of folk-tales; which constantly work their way up to the level of polite society, though not without submitting to an obsequious change of garb. Finally, be it remembered that there is an underworld in which all have been reared, namely, the nursery. . . . We shudder at ogres, and long to dance with the fairies. These values, moreover, grow up with us, and in variously transmuted forms enrich adult life; quickening the sense of wonder, the spirit of adventure, the love of simple and vital things. The function of folk-lore in education is a subject from which a genius might strike fire<110–112> . . . oral tradition . . . is capable of keeping alive for ages those germinal ideas and sentiments out of which a whole culture may be reproduced<114>. . . . Now our educational experts tell us that more science is the need of the time. It may be so; but more science must not mean less literature. Physical science by itself would but make us the slaves of a world-machine. We need letters also to keep us humane<119>.

The Interpretation of Survivals is a review of Sir James Frazer's book, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, in which Mr. Marett's criticism was only an occasion to examine recent tendencies of investigation. Frazer's method "is that of the traditional anthropology; and, granted the validity of this method, the results cannot but be wholeheartedly approved" (142). But survivals are more than fossils;

the ultimate question is how the study of survivals is to serve as a pathway to reality. Just as all symbols are as nothing in themselves, their reality consisting in their meaning, so, it has been suggested, the crude conceptual and institutional forms of an age more inarticulate than ours must be interpreted, not by reference to the shifting shapes themselves, but in the light of the persistent vital purposes that they embody and in their own way express<142>.

Mr. Marett discusses interestingly the creation of man, the fall of man, Babel and the Flood, etc.

Magic or Religion? is a review of Frazer, The Golden Bough[3]. We read of the development of this

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famous work from its first edition in two volumes to the present encyclopedia consisting of twelve volumes; likewise of the gradual acceptance of what was at first a "revolutionary manifesto". Frazer's book "amounts to a liberal education in social anthropology" (178). "It epitomizes all the available information" (179), which he culled from a literature that yielded "gold by the grain and rubbish by the ton" (179). In the first edition Frazer "was disposed to class magic loosely under religion as one of its lower forms . . . . Afterwards, he cuts off magic from religion 'as if with a hatchet'" (191). His "root-fallacy" consists "in the refusal to recognize a non-theistic type of religion" (193). However, "The Golden Bough, more than any other book, has taught our generation to view the religious world as a whole . . . "(194).

In discussing The Primitive Medicine-Man, Mr. Marett declares (197) that it is difficult to say

> how far the modern doctor is to be considered the social counterpart and spiritual heir of the so-called doctor of the primitive world, with his impressive but, as we hold, highly unscientific methods of bewitching and bedevilling his patients back into health.

We must, however, make a sharp distinction on the one hand between the common-sense methods of the savage in his treatment of wounds with ligatures, splints, etc., which, it is true, were bound with mystic precedure on a small scale, and, on the other, the method of the medicine-man, which is theurgical and supernatural throughout. This distinction is not specifically made in Garrison's admirable History of Medicine, although his exposition shows it. The common-sense medicine of plain men came to the fore in Greece, the least priest-ridden country of the ancient world. Of course faith-healing has its place; hence a rational theory of the soul must reserve a place for the soul-doctor.

In Progress in Prehistoric Times, Mr. Marett gives a sketch, "at the rate of about a millenium to a minute", of the physical and cultural development of man during the Stone Age periods. Anthropology accustoms us to a long perspective (245):

> . . . the history of man has hitherto stood almost exclusively for the history of European civilization. Being so limited, it loses most of its value as an instrument of criticism. For how can a single phase of culture criticize itself? . . . Let your survey of human progress be age-long and world-wide.

The last chapter, Anthropology and University Education, urges the development of a School of Anthropology within each University, and outlines the methods by which this could be accomplished.

The clear and epigrammatic style of the book is enlivened throughout by personal touches.

GOUCHER COLLEGE HERMAN LOUIS EBELING

Delphi. By Frederik Poulsen. Translated by G. C. Richards, with a Preface by Percy Gardner. London: Gyldendal (1920). Pp. xi + 338. 21 shillings, net. Illustrated.

The famous firm of Gyldendal, established in Copenhagen as long ago as 1770, has recently opened a London branch and is making an excellent start as well as rendering an important service to archaeology and the Classics by issuing an English translation of Dr. Poulsen's book on Delphi, which appeared in its Danish form in 1919. The book is printed beautifully, on fine paper, in large type, with 164 excellent illustrations, at a very reasonable price. Delphi was one of the most important places in Greece and in many ways the history of the oracle and the shrine of Apollo is the history of Greece. Plato believed in the oracle's great influence on religion and morality. Aristotle and Plutarch were in the service of the oracle. Even in Roman times Cicero consulted the oracle, and Hadrian placed a statue of his favorite Antinous among those of gods in the precinct, where one of the most stately statues of Antinous has actually been found (323). Delphi was a colossal intelligence bureau, a permanent Court of Arbitration or a League of Nations, the guiding spirit in Greek politics, active in stimulating colonization, fostering art, giving strong impulses to great men to echo her words, planting in the human mind the invincible yearning for the lofty and the supernatural, and showing to all mankind the way to honorable effort in the arena of life. It was a foregone conclusion that the excavation of Delphi, in view of the enormous catalogue of treasures mentioned by Pausanias as to be seen there, even after Nero's plunder of 500 bronze statues, would yield many important results; and so the Germans, the Americans, and the French all vied with one another to get the *firman* to undertake the work. The French finally got the grant, though delayed by the Greek demand for a lowering of the duty on Greek currants, and excavations began in 1892, after removal of the village of Kastri, which covered the site, to its modern location. Excavations continued every spring and summer, from 1893 to 1900, under the direction of M. Homolle. The publication of the results has been very slow, and, while many handsome important volumes of plates of the Fouilles de Delphes appeared before the Great War, only a few volumes of text have been published. The Fouilles de Delphes is an expensive publication, for specialists, so that we are very glad to have a comprehensive and interesting account of the excavations in readable form in a single volume well documented and beautifully illustrated. It is the first good account in English of Delphi, and will long remain the best treatise on the aesthetic appreciation of Delphi; for the book is full of the most fascinating and suggestive and original observations on Greek art, and lays more stress on that side than on topography or on history. It is written in a good poetical literary style and certainly is as good a book as Bourguet's Ruines de Delphes (1914), which has not been translated.

Dr. Poulsen is one of our best archaeologists. His books, Die Dipylonvasen und Gräber, and Der Orient und Die Frühgriechische Kunst, and his many learned articles have made him known as a scholar of the first rank and have won him a very important post as

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Curator of the Classical Department of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, one of the best classical museums in Europe. This book shows the sound sense and wonderful aesthetic analysis of Greek art, combined with a stimulating enthusiasm and great learning, which we have come to expect in Dr. Poulsen. In it we find a fascinating account of Apollo's Conquest of Delphi, The Oracle, Delphi, The Earliest Finds of Delphi, The Metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury, The Delphian Twins, The Naxian Sphinx, The Treasury of the Siphnians, The Temple of Apollo and its Pediments, The Treasury of the Athenians, War Monuments in Delphi, The Votive Offerings of the Sicilian Princes, The Lesche of the Cnidians, The Column of the Dancing Women, The Monument of the Thessalian Princes, The Statue of Agias, Greek Portraits from Delphi, and The Spirit of Delphi.

Unfortunately the translation, though done by a scholar, sticks too closely to the Danish text, and so here and there the English sentences are not as smooth or as easy reading as they might be. In only a few cases, however, does the translation seem to be actually inaccurate, though there are several strange English expressions.

In Chapter V Dr. Poulsen gives a brilliant analysis of the style of the metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury, finding in them the same development as in contemporary vase-painting. Mr. Dinsmoor (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 36 [1912], 444 f., 467 ff.) assigns these to the oldest Treasury of the Syracusans, but Dr. Poulsen prefers to keep the old nomenclature till more certainty shall have been obtained as to their provenance. He does not even mention Robert's theory that they are Spartan (Pausanias als Schriftsteller, 304). In Chapter VI we have an account of von Premerstein's identification of the twin statues as those of Cleobis and Biton. Herodotus, standing face to face with them, listened to their story, and drew out of their forms and aspect his melancholy view of the happiness of dying young, another startling confirmation of the reality of Herodotus and of the impossibility of interpreting the ancient authors without a detailed knowledge of archaeology. In Chapter VIII more than forty pages are devoted to a very illuminating discussion of the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury. In these Dr. Poulsen finds the style of two artists; he shows in detail how admirable the East and the North friezes are, and how far Ionic art was ahead of Attic in the last decade of the sixth century B. C. He does well, perhaps, not to confuse the reader by mentioning Robert's theory that the frieze is Argive. On page 125 Dr. Poulsen speaks of the type of the winged Athena described by Cicero, De Natura Deorum 3. 59, as extremely rare in art, and says that only six representations of it, all from vase paintings, are known. He evidently has forgotten the winged Athena on Clazomenian sarcophagi, on coins, on gems (Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, 1, Pl. 6, 56; 3, Pl. 16, 12), the Etruscan representations (in American Journal of Archaeology, 16. 492, there is a list), the relief with a winged Athena found a few years ago on the Athenian Acropolis, and the marble one from Ostia (Ausonia, 5[1911], 69 ff.), a copy of a fourth-century or fifth-century Greek statue. Dr. Poulsen tells us (136) that on the hindmost shield can be read an artist's inscription, but he fails to give the inscription or a reference to Wilhelm, Beiträge zur Inschriftenkunde, 137 (compare my remarks in American Journal of Philology 31.219).

The account in Chapter IX of the Temple of Apollo is most vivid and interesting; the historian and the economist will be interested in the records of expenditures, from which valuable information can be drawn with regard to work and wages, costs of transport, etc. The temple cost more than $700,000. The architect's monthly salary was sixty drachmae, about thirty cents a day, which, even if you put the value of money five times higher than to-day, is a low sum. Hewing a block in the quarry cost only 61 drachmae, but transport from Lechaeum, the harbor of Corinth across the Corinthian Gulf, to Cirrha cost 224 drachmae. To bring a block from Cirrha the few miles up to Delphi cost 420 drachmae. These are excessively high freight rates. Sometimes the cost of transporting a block to its destination was ten times as great as that of preparing the block at the outset. Unfortunately, little of the temple except the foundations remains and nothing of the groups of the pediment by Praxias discussed by Pausanias survives. For Praxias we may compare Mrs. Van Buren's paper, in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 3.91–100; she holds that in the citharoedus reliefs there is a mutilated version of the West pediment. Dr. Poulsen's description of the temple and of the holy of holies is fairly complete, though I miss an account of the secret passageway which led down under the temple on its South side by the stairs marked on Mr. Dinsmoor's plan (Fig. 7 in Poulsen). This passageway helps to explain the machinery of the oracle, as in the case of the temple with an apse at Corinth (American Journal of Archaeology 23. 356 ff.). The oracle and the mephitic chasm were surely in the temple, and not in the gorge, where Oppe, to whom Poulsen does not refer, puts them (Journal of Hellenic Studies 24. 214–240). Nor can I feel that M. Homolle's attempt to make the earlier pedimental groups fit the chorus in Euripides, Ion 190–218, is a mistake (157), as Mr. Richards also believes (The Classical Review 34.171). Professor Walter Miller read a paper on the subject at the meeting of The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at Cleveland, in 1920. He is firmly convinced that Euripides was actually describing the pediments of the Alcmaeonid Temple, which were represented or at least suggested in the theater when the Ion was presented (compare, also, Professor J. T. Allen, The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century Before Christ, 45, and Note 84). In Chapter X the Treasury of the Athenians is dated after the battle of Marathon, but I do not see how the architecture and the sculpture can possibly be dated so late. In American Journal of Philology 31. 220 I accepted 510 as the date. I understand from Mr. Dinsmoor that he would date

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it at least as early as 525 B. C. It is a pleasure to see reproduced (166, 167, with notes) the shorter and better preserved of the two hymns to Apollo which were inscribed on the Treasury of the Athenians. I might add that one can now get this on a Victor record for the Victrola. Fig. 82 (186) is red-figured, not black-figured.

In Chapter XI the Stoa of the Athenians is dated, with Pomtow, after 480 B. C., but the architecture and the archaic letters of the inscription, including the cross-barred theta, incline me still, with some others, to date it, as I did in American Journal of Philology 31. 220, about 504, when the Athenians, as Wilamowitz has pointed out, won a victory over the Chalcidians in Euboea. I cannot understand what Dr. Poulsen means when he says "An Athenian victory over Sparta in 506 B. C. has been proposed", for there was no war with Sparta then. He is certainly wrong in saying with regard to the famous serpent column, now in Constantinople, that the tripod had one leg resting on each snake-head. Furtwaengler (Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie [1904], 413 ff., a paper to which Dr. Poulsen does not refer) is surely right when he supposes that the legs of the tripod came down over the snake column to the base, for we can still see at Delphi the three marks for the feet on the original base. The facts answer Dr. Poulsen's objection "that the snake in the middle would be so well hidden that we cannot understand how anybody could think of putting an inscription on it". The legs would cover very little of the column and would be fairly distant from it. In discussing the wonderful Delphi charioteer Dr. Poulsen rather accepts Polyzalos as the dedicator, and mentions Von Duhn's reading of Anaxilas in the original inscription, but fails to cite Washburn (American Journal of Archaeology 10.151–153), Keramopoulles (Athenische Mitteilungen 34.33–60) and many others, who have proposed different theories.

In Chapter XIII the Lesche is discussed in a most interesting and readable way, though perhaps more is gained by Robert's attempt at reconstruction of the famous Polygnotan paintings than Dr. Poulsen would admit when he says:

> But of all this gamut of feeling not a trace can be seen in the reconstruction drawn by Carl Robert, and by that alone it may be judged and condemned, as Caylus' drawings were condemned in his day by Diderot. There is only one kind of reconstruction which is permissible, the poetical, which does not claim to know about lines and details, but only seeks to comprehend the main point, the great rhythm, the echo of which is rather guessed than heard in the old description.

The *peristasis*, the narrow passage behind the wall, to prevent the moisture striking through and injuring the frescoes, can be paralleled at Delphi itself without going to Pergamum or Ephesus (241), in the buildings on Mr. Dinsmoor's plan (Fig. 7), Nos. XVIII, XIX, the anathema of Daochus, and the building to the West, and the two buildings to the East of that.

Chapter XIV discusses the Column of the Dancing Women and makes great use of two very important articles by M. Homolle (one, on the origin of the Corinthian capital, in Revue Archéologique 4 [1916], 26 ff., the other, on Caryatids, in Revue Archéologique 5.1–67). Dr. Poulsen accepts M. Homolle's idea that the column is a replica of Praxiteles's famous Caryatids, which were later in the gallery of that famous art collector at Rome, Asinius Pollio. The Caryatids were originally dancing women at the feasts of Artemis in Caryae; the name Caryatids, in its later sense, does not appear till the time of Lynceus, in the fourth century B. C. Dr. Poulsen discusses the South Italian vases and shows how the dancing figure is used as an architectural support, and that the next step was to transfer the name Caryatid to figures standing at rest. In this way the original idea of the dance as a motive for the name was destroyed. In this connection Dr. Poulsen might have cited (252) the imitation of the acanthus column on a vase published by Nicole in the Festgabe Hugo Blümner (1914), 481–484.

The dancing Caryatid supporting an architrave on a South Italian vase on which Dr. Poulsen lays so much stress, and which is illustrated on page 263 (Fig. 128), is said to be modern, by Fiechter, in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 33 (1918), 198, Note 1, and in his recent article on Karyatides, in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, 10.2252.

Chapter XV devotes thirty pages to a detailed and admirable discussion of the monument of the Thessalian princes and especially the statue of Agias, which has raised a difficult problem. An inscription, which was discovered at Pharsalus in Thessaly, by mentioning a group by Lysippus, led Preuner and many others, including Professor Percy Gardner, to the belief that we had at Delphi a replica in marble of a bronze portrait by no less an artist than Lysippus, who set up the group in the home town. The Agias found at Delphi has many features which belong to a different school from that of the Vatican Apoxyomenus, which had been the index of the style of Lysippus. Most scholars, following Professor Gardner, discarded the Apoxyomenus and accepted the Agias as representing Lysippus. I have felt from the beginning that scholars were too hasty in this rejection, and that it was not certain that the Agias at Delphi was a contemporary copy of a work by Lysippus, as the evidence does not prove that (see my review of H. N. Fowler, History of Sculpture, in Art and Archaeology 4.253). Dr. Poulsen now thinks that both works were by Lysippus, whom he wrongly assigns to Argos instead of to Sicyon (281), and that his style could change enough in half a century to find room among the 1,500 statues credited to him for two figures of somewhat different style. The Agias statue at Delphi would be a contemporary marble copy executed by a clever mason, but not by Lysippus himself. Dr. Poulsen regards the connection with Lysippus as certain. I still doubt even that, and one of my students, Mr. F. P. Johnson, will soon publish an exhaustive dissertation on Lysippus in which I hope he will make it clear that the Apoxyomenus is still to be attributed to Lysippus and that further proof will have to be produced before we can accept the Agias for Lysippus. Dr. Poulsen's state-

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ment (284) that "more energy than pathos is attained in the expression" of the Agias is very strange, for the Agias surely has a somewhat pathetic expression.

Let no one think that, because I have differed, in some details, from some of Dr. Poulsen's views, this is not a very important book. I have picked out several important details because they are points of great interest on which the classical student will want to know Dr. Poulsen's position. The book certainly is one which every student of Greek or of things Greek, as well as every cultured man, ought to read; they will find it interesting and fascinating and suggestive. No more important book in the field of Greek sculpture and aesthetics has appeared in English in recent years. We ought to have such volumes for Olympia, Delos, and many another excavated classical site.

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THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The New York Classical Club held its first meeting for this year on Saturday, November 5, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The address was given by Dr. Edward Kennard Rand, of Harvard University, on Libraries in the Middle Ages. Dr. Rand presented much solid information with vivid and entertaining and amusing details, and gave a graphic picture of life in the great medieval monastic communities.

The earliest Christian monastic libraries were mere repositories for books of ritual and theology, Cassiodorus, of the sixth century, was an innovator; he collected secular and classical manuscripts for the library of his Benedictine monastery. Charlemagne was the next to give an impetus to this movement; and to the activity which he inspired we owe the great number of classical manuscripts dating from the ninth century and those immediately following.

Often, in a library, the secular books were separated from the theological; and the novices were allowed access to the latter only after a preparatory course of reading in the former.

In a monastery, the library was connected with the chapel, often occupying the cloister. Here pews, or 'carols', were set aside for private reading, one for each monk; each had a reading desk and a window looking out on the court. In this library, wall-mottoes enjoined upon the reader proper care of the books, and here the monkish readers made their wants known to the librarian by an elaborate code of signals to avoid transgressing the rule of silence. Many monasteries had a system of book-exchange which made their libraries really circulating libraries. A separate room called a *scriptorium* usually adjoined the library, and here the copying of manuscripts went on.

Dr. Rand illustrated his lecture with a large number of slides. Some of these reproduced quaint medieval drawings, which showed copyists peacefully at work before their desks, with pots of various colored ink to use in illumination. One slide showed an old plan of the monastery of St. Gall, a type of the great self-sustaining religious community. Other pictures showed the evolution of the modern library, like that of the Vatican or of San Marco in Florence, from the medieval cloister, and the development of modern book-shelves from the simple reading-desk of the Middle Ages.

The lecturer made it clear that the medieval library and *scriptorium* rendered an invaluable service. It is true that the copyists made mistakes and that they erased classical texts to make room for Christian writings; but they made the mistakes because they were human, and they erased the classical texts because parchment was hard to get and because they believed St. Augustine to be more important than Cicero. On the other hand, they showed in their work much artistic ability, much intelligence and learning. The art of text-illumination was the precursor of the painting of the Italian Renaissance. The accuracy, clearness, and beauty of many manuscripts, especially of the uncial texts, presuppose in the copyists no little scholarship and understanding.

MARGARET Y. HENRY, *Censor.*

CATS AND DOGS—TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY

Some time in April last, in a New York newspaper (probably The Tribune, The Times, or The Globe), I came upon an article which I read casually and should probably have forgotten absolutely, had I not, a short while later, chanced on an interesting parallel in classical literature. Since a hurried search through the files of the New York Public Library has failed to locate the article in question, I must summarize it from memory.

It appears that certain persons, who engage in the practice of arson, professionally, so to speak, train cats to fight lamps. A cat so trained may sell for as much as $300. It is left alone at night, with a lighted lamp, in the store that the owner desires to burn to secure the insurance. The cat promptly assails and overturns the lamp, and the fire follows.

According to Fronto, as quoted in the Octavius of Minucius Felix, 9.8, much the same use was made of dogs by the early Christians, not, indeed, to bring on a conflagration (though how this was avoided is not stated), but to secure the utter darkness requisite for the nefarious practices commonly attributed to them by their pagan contemporaries. The passage runs thus: Canis qui candelabro nexus est, iactu offulae ultra spatium lineae qua vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur; sic everso et extincto conscio lumine, etc.

I am inclined to think there is about as much truth in the one tale as in the other. I doubt, however, whether the New York reporter found the germ of his story in Minucius Felix.

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C. K.

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, No. 8 MONDAY, December 5, 1921 WHOLE NO. 404

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE.

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, No. 8 MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1921 WHOLE NO. 404

THE ROMAN SCHOOL TEACHER AND HIS REWARD[1]

It is not within the scope of this paper to describe the Roman educational system, but merely to set forth a few facts gleaned from the Latin authors concerning the reward, material and other, which the Roman teacher might expect. May I, however, remind you that the Roman Schools were divided into two classes, the School of Grammar, corresponding to our Elementary Schools, and the School of Rhetoric, roughly comparable with our High Schools, or possibly our Colleges? In the Grammar School the pupil devoted his attention to the reading and the interpretation of the poets. The School of Rhetoric prepared young men for political life, and had the art of public speaking for its province. It is in the technical Latin sense that I employ the terms *grammar* and *grammarian*, *rhetoric* and *rhetorician*.

Suetonius Tranquillus, who is best known to us by his Biographies of the Twelve Caesars, wrote a book De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, dealing with the lives of famous Roman teachers of grammar and rhetoric, thereby paying a tribute to the profession to which he himself seems to have belonged at one time. About the middle of the fifteenth century, when Italian scholars were devoting their efforts with an almost religious fervor to the resurrection of the yet surviving literary monuments of classical antiquity, a manuscript containing this little work of Suetonius along with the minor works of Tacitus was brought to Rome from the German monastery of Hersfeld. The manuscript itself perished long ago, but fortunately not until at least two transcripts had been made from it. Pietro Candido Decembrio, a papal secretary, was one of the first to read these works after their burial in the oblivion of over a thousand years, and has left us some important observations on the Hersfeld manuscript[2]. Here is the impression which Suetonius's little book on the grammarians and the rhetoricians made upon him: Videtur in illo opere Suetonius innuere omnes fere rhetores et grammaticae professores desperatis fortunis finivisse vitam.

While a perusal of the De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus of Suetonius shows that Decembrio was scarcely justified in saying that nearly all School teachers died in misery, yet the examples are numerous and striking enough to cause small wonder that he received this impression. Let us glance down over the list.

Oppius Chares taught in Cisalpine Gaul unto extreme old age, even when he was blind and could no longer walk. Doubtless he was forced to do this because of his dire poverty. Sevius Nicanor, the first Roman teacher of grammar to attain distinction, was forced because of some disgrace to go into exile in Sardinia and there spend his declining years. Aurelius Opillus closed his School to follow his patron, Rutilius Rufus, into exile at Smyrna. Marcus Pompilius Andronicus, finding himself held in less esteem not only than his distinguished rival, Antonius Gnipho, but than even others of inferior merit, withdrew to Cumae, where, as Suetonius tells us, he had plenty of time to write a great number of books, but was so needy and poverty-stricken that he was forced to sell for about six hundred and forty dollars the copyright to his splendid little work entitled A Refutation of the Annals of Ennius. Orbilius, whose name has been made immortal by the epithet *plagosus*, 'the flogger', applied to him by his gifted pupil, Horace, after teaching for a long time in his native town of Beneventum, came to Rome in his fiftieth year, and, as Suetonius succinctly remarks, docuit maiore fama quam emolumento.

In his extreme old age he wrote a book in which he complained of his poverty and said that he lived up under the tiles in a garret. Valerius Cato lived to be very old, but only to experience the most abject poverty, being forced to sell his Tusculan villa to his creditors. The wonder is, of course, that a School teacher could have owned a Tusculan villa in the first place.

Gaius Julius Hyginus, one time curator of the Palatine Library, passed his declining years in extreme poverty, and was compelled to depend upon the bounty of his friend, Clodius Licinus. Albucius Silus, a noted teacher of rhetoric and pleader in the law-courts, suffering from ill-health, and, burning with wrath that the right of free speech had died with the Roman Republic, withdrew to his native town of Novaria, and, after calling an assembly of his townsmen to tell them the reasons why he had resolved to die, proceeded to end his life by starvation. Marcus Porcius Latro committed suicide in weariness of continually recurring attacks of the ague.

'Many a teacher', says Juvenal (7.203 ff.), 'has had occasion to rue the barrenness of the professorial chair, as the deaths of Lysimachus and Secundus Carrinas prove'. If we believe the comment of the scholiast upon the passage, Lysimachus and Carrinas were teachers of rhetoric who committed suicide because of their poverty, the former by hanging, the latter by taking poison.

[1] This paper was read before a joint session of The Classics Section of the Teachers of Secondary Schools affiliated with the University of Cincinnati and The Classical Club of Cincinnati, February 26, 1921.

[2] Published by R. Sabbadini, Rivista di Filologia, 29 (1901), 262 ff.

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Juvenal (7.150 ff.) pictures the teacher as being forced to dun his pupils for the money due him, and receiving this insolent reply: 'What! do you ask for pay? Well, what do I know?'. For, of course, continues Juvenal, the blame is upon the teacher if there is nothing beating on the left side <or, as we should probably say, if there is 'nobody home in the upper storey'> of the stolid youth.

Juvenal continues thus:

'If the teacher of rhetoric takes my advice, he will say farewell to his profession and enter upon a different walk of life, this teacher who is forced to abandon the fictitious cases of the school of declamation and descend from the shade of academic seclusion into the forum to try a real lawsuit for the recovery of the payments due from his pupils, that he may have the money with which to buy a measly little bread ticket. Just investigate how much Chrysogonus, the teacher of singing, and Pollio, the lyre player, get for their lessons, and you will tear into shreds your Elements of Rhetoric. A man must have private baths worth twenty-five thousand dollars, and a hippodrome costing even more in which to go driving when it rains. Then he will have a dining-room with its roof supported by columns of Numidian marble, built on the south side of his house to catch the rays of the winter's sun. However expensive his house may be, he will still have money enough for butlers and for cooks. Among all these expenses, eighty dollars a year at the utmost will be enough for the man who teaches his son rhetoric. Rest assured that nothing will cost a father less than the education of his boy'.

Do not these words of the Roman satirist call to mind the biting sarcasm of the veteran English School teacher, Roger Ascham?

And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonge verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one, they will gladlie give a stipend of 200 Crounes by yeare, and lothe to offer the other 200 shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well bred horse, but wilde and unfortunate children: and therefore in the ende they find more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children.

Juvenal declares further that, wretched as is the pay of the teacher of rhetoric, the teacher of grammar receives even less. He does not even get all that the father sends him, for he is forced to divide the sum with the steward, and with the pedagogue who accompanies the boy to and from School. The teacher may just as well make up his mind to allow the original sum to be diminished or he will lose it all. Even then he will seldom receive his pay unless he goes into court for it.

Naturally we must use considerable reserve in accepting Juvenal's portrayal of conditions, and must make due allowance for the satirist's license of painting only with the boldest strokes and with the most glaring colors. Nevertheless, the picture he presents must at least have portrayed an exaggerated form of the re and I am quite unable to accept the optimistic view of the opulence of Roman teachers set forth by M. Jullien in his learned discussion, Les Professeurs de Litérature dans l'Ancien Rome.

Nor was it in the matter of salary alone that parental cooperation was woefully lacking. Orbilius wrote, in Greek, a book entitled On the Woes of a School Teacher, or, as some prefer to render the title, The Very Sorrowful Man, in which he set forth his complaints on the wrongs done the teacher through the indifference of parents and their misdirected ambitions for their offspring[3]. Valerius Cato wrote a book called Indignation[4], which may have treated of the same subject-matter.

The doctrine of soft pedagogy and the paradox of the parent who expects his child to attain the maximum of erudition with the minimum of effort are not phenomena confined to the present day and generation. The attitude of the parents had wrought the complete demoralization of the Schools of Rhetoric, according to the account of Petronius[5], who wrote in the third quarter of the first century A. D. The student Encolpius takes it upon himself to tell the teacher Agamemnon what he thinks of the Schools of Rhetoric of that time:

I believe that college makes complete fools of our young men, because they see and hear nothing of ordinary life there. It is pirates standing in chains on the beach, tyrants pen in hand ordering sons to cut off their fathers' heads, oracles in time of pestilence demanding the blood of three virgins or more, honey-balls of phrases, every word and act besprinkled with poppy-seed and sesame. People who are fed on this diet can no more be sensible than people who live in kitchens can be savoury. With your permission I must tell you the truth, that you teachers more than anyone else have been the ruin of true eloquence. Your tripping, empty, tones stimulate certain absurd effects into being, with the result that the substance of your speech languishes and dies.

Agamemnon does not allow this aspersion upon his profession to go unchallenged, but proceeds to set Encolpius aright as to the true source of the difficulty:

Your talk has an uncommon flavour, young man, and what is most unusual, you appreciate good sense. I will not therefore deceive you by making a mystery of my art. The fact is that the teachers are not to blame for these exhibitions. They are in a madhouse, and they must gibber. Unless they speak to the taste of their young masters they will be left alone in the colleges, as Cicero remarks. Like the toadies cadging after the rich man's dinner, they think first about what is calculated to please their audience. They will never gain their object unless they lay traps for the ear. A master of oratory is like a fisherman: he must put the particular bait on his hook which he knows will tempt the little fish, or he may sit waiting on his rock with no hope of a catch. Then what is to be done? It is the parents who should be attacked for refusing to allow their children to profit by stern discipline. To begin with they consecrate even their young hopefuls, like everything else, to ambition. Then if they are in a hurry for the fulfilment of their

[3]Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 9. The manuscripts read *perialogos* and *perialegos*.

[4]Ibidem, 11.

[5]Satyricon 1-2. I quote from the translation of Heseltine (Loeb Classical Library, London, 1913).

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vows, they drive the unripe schoolboy into the law courts, and thrust eloquence, the noblest of callings, upon children who are still struggling into the world.

The teacher was expected to keep a strict censorship on the moral conduct of his pupils, yet what attention to moral instruction was paid in the home? Says Quintilian (1.2.6):

'That soft upbringing, which we call indulgence, breaks all the sinews of mind and body. What wanton desires will that boy not have when grown who has learned to creep in purple wrappings? Before he has spoken his first words he understands the meaning of *cook*, and knows how to ask for oysters. We start training their palates before we do their moral conduct. They grow up in baby-buggies, and, if they are allowed to touch the floor, there is someone on each side of them to keep them from falling. We are pleased if they make some saucy remark. Words which should not be tolerated even from our favorite slaves we welcome from our children with smiles and kisses. Do not wonder at this! We have taught them. They hear these words from us. They see our mistresses and concubines: every banquet is filled with obscene songs; things are seen which we ought to be ashamed even to talk about. From this environment habits are formed, and then character. The poor little children learn such things before they know they are vices; then released from the home and starting to school, they do not contract these faults from the schoolroom but bring them into the schoolroom'.

Similar is the testimony of Tacitus (Dialogus 29):

'The children are turned over to the care of slaves who are incompetent for any serious service. Their parents do not train their little ones in goodness and self-control, but in wantonness and pertness, which gradually grow into insolence and disregard both of self and others . . .'.

With such indifference in the home, need we wonder that, while in the latter days of the Republic Orbilius *plagosus* inspired a wholesome fear of the rod within the young Horace, one hundred and fifty years later, in the time of Juvenal, Rufus and other teachers were beaten by their pupils?

Though the parents were willing to pay the teachers nothing, yet they expected them to know everything. When the weary schoolmaster after his hard day's labor would be hurrying to the bath for a little recreation, they would stop him, and ask such absurd questions as 'Who was the nurse of Anchises?', 'What was the name and nationality of the stepmother of Anchemolus?', 'How many years did Acestes live?', 'How many flagons of wine did the Sicilians give to the Trojans?'[6]. The Emperor Tiberius, too, was fond of putting grammarians to the test by positing such questions as 'Who was the mother of Hecuba?', 'What name did Achilles go by when in hiding among the daughters of the king of Scyros?', 'What was the song the Sirens used to sing?'[7]. All these were things *quae erant dediscenda, si scires*, as Seneca (Epist. 88.37) says. Small wonder that Quintilian (1.8.21), looking back upon a long and successful teaching career, was forced to exclaim, Mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire!

What of the social position of the Roman teacher? In the midst of his poverty and his disappointments could he console himself by the thought that he occupied a position of trust and respect in his community? Could he in his academic seclusion feel that his poverty was at least a genteel one?—a consolation, I fancy, which we teachers of to-day are sometimes wont to seek. Here is the significant answer in two verses of Juvenal (7.197-198): 'If Fortune wills you will rise from School teacher to consul; if this same Fortune wills a man will sink from consul to School teacher'. School teacher to consul, and consul to School teacher—here we have the upper and the lower rungs of the social ladder. The younger Pliny tells us that Valerius Licinianus experienced such a reverse of fortnne that he became an exile instead of a senator, aud a teacher of rhetoric instead of an orator. As a rhetorician in Sicily he opened his first lecture with the bitter words: Quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis? facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores[8]. Marcus Epidius, who boasted his descent from an Italian god, when he had fallen into disgrace by committing perjury, felt that the only way left for him to make a living was by opening a School of Public Speaking[9].

We do not have to look far for the underlying cause of this stigma attached to the teaching profession, and it is not particularly flattering to the Romans. When this warlike and uncultivated people first turned its attention to the systematic education of its youth, the slaves from Greece and other countries of the East were the only ones that possessed sufficient erudition to give the instruction. Quintus Catulus, towards the close of the second century B. C., purchased a *grammaticus* for about $30,000[10], which the elder Pliny says is the highest price he ever knew to be paid for a single slave[11]. Slaves of culture and education, when they obtained their freedom, would open Schools, and thus the teaching profession, like that of medicine and many other callings now regarded as highly respectable, was limited to the despised class of libertini or freedmen. As the elder Seneca says (Controversiae 2, Praef.), minime probabili more turpe erat docere quod honestum erat discere. Of the twenty-five grammarians and rhetoricians whose lives have been preserved in the little work of Suetonius thirteen had at one time been slaves; some of them had experienced slavery in its most degrading forms, as Staberius Eros, who was brought from across the seas and sold in Rome at public auction, or Voltacilius Plotus, or Pitholaus (his cognomen is uncertain), who was said to have served as doorkeeper and to have been chained to his post in accordance with the older Roman custom. So common was it to regard all teachers as libertini that Valerius Cato

[6]Juvenal, 7.229 ff.
[7]Suetonius, Tiberius 70.
[8]Pliny, Epist. 4.11.1.
[9]Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 28.
[10]Ibidem, 3.
[11]Pliny, N. H. 7.128. Pliny gives the name of M. Scaurus as the purchaser.

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in his book, Indignation, was forced to defend his free birth against the attacks of the malignant, who tried to make out that he was the freedman of some Gaul[12]. Those teachers who did not suffer with the brand of servile birth almost without exception labored under the handicap of having been born outside of Italy or at least outside of Rome, a circumstance scarcely pardonable to the proud Roman, at any rate in the earlier days.

The lot of the Roman School teacher as I have depicted it was certainly a hard one, and no doubt you are asking yourselves if they were all utterly wretched, if there were not even the exceptions which prove the rule. To be sure there were, for does not Juvenal say that if Fortune wills you may be exalted from School teacher to consul? Suetonius tells us that in the earlier days the study of rhetoric became a sort of fad in Rome, and a very large number of professors and teachers flocked to the city and prospered to such an extent that many of them used their profession as a stepping-stone to rise from the lowest rank of society to the senatorial order and highest political offices[13]. In the later days of the Empire it does not seem to have been so difficult for teachers to secure high political recognition. The Emperor Pertinax once kept a Grammar School. Eugenius, who was set up as Emperor of the West in 392 A. D., was a rhetorician. Ausonius, a teacher of rhetoric, was made consul by his former pupil Gratian.

When we read of the money made by teachers in certain isolated cases, we may be inclined to wish that we had been teaching in Rome. Verrius Flaccus received about four thousand dollars a year for instructing the grandsons of the Emperor Augustus[14]; and we are not dealing with fifty-cent dollars. Antonius Gnipho, a teacher of Julius Caesar, never set any fixed price for his services, but found it more profitable to trust to the liberality of his pupils[15]. Of course he lived long before the time of Juvenal.

Yet we hear of still greater marvels. If we may attempt to read sense into a very corrupt text, Lucius Apuleius in the early part of the first century B. C. was hired for sixteen thousand dollars a year to teach grammar in the large and flourishing Spanish city of Osca[16].

The plutocrat among Roman School teachers seems to have been Quintus Remmius Palaemon[17]. In spite of his servile birth, and his gross immorality, which caused the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius to declare that nobody was less fitted than he to instruct the youth of the metropolis, he realized sixteen thousand dollars a year from his School and about the same amount from other enterprises. In addition to his School he ran a clothing-store, and owned a farm which he developed to a degree of productivity that excited the wonder and the envy of his neighbors. In spite of his large income, Suetonius tells us, he scarcely met his expenditures, so luxurious was his standard of living.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, however, from his own day to the present time has held undisputed claim to first place among the teachers of Rome. 'Quintilian, great tutor of the wayward youth, glory of the Roman toga art thou, Quintilian', is the tribute paid him by Martial (2.90.1-2). A native of Calagurris in Spain, he devoted the best years of his life to the teaching of rhetoric in Rome under the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. His work on The Education of an Orator, full of precepts of sound common sense for teachers and pupils of all time, written in a vivacious and sparkling style, a veritable treasure-house of information with regard to Roman education and antiquities in general, inimitable in its pointed criticisms of Greek and Roman authors, is a classic which deserves far more attention than is commonly given it to-day. Quintilian was the first Roman teacher to conduct a School supported by the State. Incredible as it may seem, up to the time of Vespasian all Schools at Rome were privately operated. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, established a yearly salary of four thousand dollars to be paid from the public treasury to teachers of Greek and Latin declamation. Naturally not all teachers were fortunate enough to profit by this arrangement. Quintilian seems to have enjoyed the respect and the admiration of his contemporaries; his numerous estates were a matter of comment; and, finally, he is the exemplification of Juvenal's dictum, for he was invested with the insignia and the rank of consul by the Emperor Domitian.

For Juvenal (7.190 ff.), Remmius Palaemon was an example of the supremely lucky grammarian, and Quintilian of the supremely lucky rhetorician[18].

'Pass by these examples of strange and capricious fates. The lucky man is handsome and spirited; the lucky man is wise and high-born; he wears the appendage of the crescent upon his shoe of costly black leather; the lucky man is also a great orator and lancer of the shafts of rhetoric, and, if he has caught cold, he sings so sweetly. It makes all the difference in the world what constellation takes you under its tutelage when you are born . . . . But that lucky man is rarer than the white crow'.

It would seem that with a few notable exceptions Suetonius's words in regard to Orbilius held good even with the most successful of Roman teachers (and I may add, with teachers of all ages): docuerunt maiore fama quam emolumento. Let us not forget, however, that the teacher was not deprived of that intangible reward which comes from within, from the love of one's profession and from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, 'that everlasting reward which is not subjected to the caprices of fortune'[19].

[12]Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 11.
[13]Ibidem, 25.
[14]Ibidem, 17.
[15]Ibidem, 7.
[16]Ibidem, 3. As an emendation of Codd. Ottobonianus 1455 and Vindobonensis 711, *mutoscedo doceret* (*multos edoceret*, cett.), I propose *ut Oscae doceret*. I have defended this at length in my doctoral dissertation, De Fragmenti Suetoniani De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Codicum Nexu et Fide, to be published in the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Compare Plutarch, Sertorius 14.
[17]Ibidem, 23.
[18]See E. G. Sihler, Quintilian of Calagurris, American Journal of Philology 41.215.
[19]Quintilian 1.12.18.

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Quintilian says (1.12.17), 'I do not care for anyone even to read my book who is going to calculate how much money his studies will bring him'.

As a classicist in this age of crass commercialism, I find a warm spot in my heart for the old Roman grammarian Valerius Probus. Finding copies of the works of Plautus and others of the most ancient Latin authors, the memory of whom had been entirely obliterated at Rome, he began to read and reread them diligently, and then to search for other copies. Finally, with no other inducement than his love for his work, he devoted his life to the emendation and the annotation of these old and despised authors, though he realized full well that they were *magis opprobrio legentibus quam gloriae et fructui*[20].

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI RODNEY P. ROBINSON

DE REGE ET RUSTICA

Characters: King Alfred (A.); Rustica, a peasant woman (R.); a soldier (M.).

Scene: the kitchen of a herdsman's cottage in England, about 871 A. D. The herdsman's wife is discovered tending her fire, and sweeping the hearth.

R.—Semper cineres in foco; cotidie lapidem rado, sed cotidie pulvis venit. (*She fetches a board from the table at the left, on which are some little pats of dough ready to be baked*). Veni, panis parve; inter cineres caldus eris! (*She puts one among the ashes. A knock is heard; she puts the board back on the table, and looks towards the door, hesitating fearfully*). Quis est? Tot hostes in vicinia sunt ut ianuam aperire timeam. (*The knock is repeated more insistently; going reluctantly to the door, she opens it, and retreats hastily to the far side of the room. Enter A.*).

R.—Quis es?

A.—Indigens sum, sine amicis, sine patria. (*He is evidently distrait*).

R.—Quidnam vis? Nos quoque pauperes sumus.

A.—Requiescere paucas horas hac in coquina mihi liceat, et tecum vesperi cenare.

R.—Sane. Sed cena nostra pauper est: hodie panem modo habebimus. Sed libenter panem tecum dividemus.

A.—Gratias ago.

R.—In hac sella conside, et panes parvos quos in cineres imponam tuere. Prohibe eos flagrare. (*She bustles around, putting the cakes into the ashes*). Ad maritum ibo, nam fortasse ad cenam caseum et carnem emere poterit. Noli pati parvos panes flagrare! (*As she says the last words, she puts on her hooded cape, and goes out, leaving the King sitting by the fire, and watching the cakes. Presently, he becomes absent-minded, rises from his chair, and walks up and down*).

A.—Quid faciam? Rex sine corona sum. Exercitus meus pulsus est, et barbari ad portas ipsas Londini adsunt. Milites mei, rege amisso, dispersi fugiunt. Me miserum! Cur Deus me regem fecit? (*After walking up and down a moment more, wringing his hands in silence, he sits down on the chair, but with his back to the fire; he straddles the chair, and drops his head on his arms. After a while, he ejaculates the following disjointed sentences*). Homo timidus et ignavus sum; regno non sum dignus. Ei mihi, quid faciam? (*He sits sunk in despair, his head still on his arms. Rustica, entering, sniffs the air, then rushes to the fireplace, and rakes out the charred cakes*).

R.—Flagrare, ingrate, panes passus es! (*She shows them, all burnt and spoiled, to him*). Stulte, improbe, inepte! (*She shakes her finger in his face*). Nulla cena hic hodie vesceris. Nihil vel ego vel tu vel maritus meus edet. (*She turns to the fireplace, crying, and wiping her eyes on her apron*).

A.—Eheu! ignosce mihi, oblitus sum. (*She ignores him. He turns away with a gesture of despair*). Perniciem ubique mecum traho. Odiosus deo sum. Utinam me mors vincat. (*A knock is heard; then a soldier enters hurriedly, and kneels beside the King. Rustica turns round in astonishment*).

M.—Salve, rex nobilissime. Tempore opportunissimo te invenio, namque Roberti exercitus ducis de septentrionibus auxilio nobis venit.

A.—Deus sit laudatus!

M.—Multi milites iam in castris se congregant et te exspectant.

A.—(*inspirited*). Venio. Fortuna non semper est adversa. Nunc secundam se monstrat, et auxilium eius, deae mutabilis, maximo cum gaudio accipimus.

R.—(*She has been standing transfixed by the hearth, but now runs forward, and kneels beside the King, plucking his mantle timidly. But the king hastens to get his cap, which he had left by the door, and his cloak, which he put on the table. As he passes the soldier, he says, in a tone of command,* Veni, *and motions with his head towards the door. Then he sees Rustica, still kneeling, and lifts her up as she finishes the following speech*). Mei, rex clementissime, miserere, mihi parce. Te non cognovi; mihi ignosce.

A.—(*smiling, as he lifts her up*)—Verba tua merui, panem enim destrui. De castris aliquid mittam ut edatis. Flagrati panis obliviscere; regem modo quem adiuvisti memoria tene. Nunc vale; ad exercitum ibo, ut victoriam petam. (*He lifts his hand in a gesture of farewell, and goes to the door, which the soldier is holding open. As he goes out, he turns again, and waves his hand to Rustica*).

R.—(*looking ecstatically at the hand by which the King had lifted her from her knees*) Haec manus regem tangebat! Hi oculi regem videbant! Etiamsi nullam cenam habebo, beata sum!

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[20]Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 24.

[21]Reference may be made to two papers on Quintilian, An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present-Day Teachers, by Charles E. Bennett, in The Classical Journal 4.149-164, and Quintilian, The Schoolmaster, by Gordon J. Laing, in The Classical Journal 15.515-534.

C.K.

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REVIEWS

Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek Vase. By Jay Hambidge. New Haven and New York: Yale University Press (1920). Pp. 161. $6.00.

For some years Mr. Jay Hambidge has supplemented his strictly artistic work with a mathematical study of the construction of Greek artistic products. He has presented his theories, from time to time, in various series of public lectures; he has illustrated his principles before schools of design and has expounded them to select disciples. Moreover he edits and writes a periodical, called The Diagonal, in which the principles of the theory are developed and applied.

The present volume is the outgrowth of lectures delivered at Yale University on the Trowbridge Foundation, and is the first work published by the Trowbridge Memorial Publication Fund. Mr. Hambidge begins his study with a brief statement of the difference between dynamic (or active) and static (or passive) symmetry. Static symmetry, to which a short final chapter is devoted, consists of the recurrence in design of a single element, such as the square or the equilateral triangle, and is found commonly in Saracenic, Byzantine, Norman, and Gothic art. Dynamic symmetry, which was known only to the Egyptians and to the Greeks, is the principle of the establishment of the "relationship of areas in design-composition".

Mr. Hambidge's thesis, then, is that the principle of Greek design rests on this interrelationship of areas, even though the lines concerned may be, and commonly are, incommensurable. The mathematical elements are set forth in the first three chapters of the book, and are interpreted by the analysis of rectangles. The simplest illustration is found in the case of a rectangle where the square constructed on the end is exactly one-half, in area, of the square constructed on the side. The relationship between these end and side lines of the rectangle, however, is numerically represented by 1 and 1.4142+, which is the square root of two. Thus it is seen that the relationship in line is incommensurable, while, expressed in area, it is perfectly commensurable. A similar proportionate relationship occurs in connection with rectangles where the area of the square constructed on the side is three times, four times, five times, etc., the area of the square on the end, and such rectangles are called respectively root three, root four, root five, etc., rectangles. The numerical relation between the end and the side of a root five rectangle is expressed by 1 and 2.236, which is the square root of five. Closely related to the root five rectangle is a rectangle, the relationship of whose end and side is as 1 to 1.618. This is the proportionate relationship between the figures of a summation series, and is the normal law for leaf distribution on plants. A rectangle constructed on these proportions possesses extraordinary symmetrical qualities, and is called by Mr. Hambidge the rectangle of the whirling squares. The square root of five, 2.236, is 1.618+.618, that is, the root five rectangle equals, in area, a whirling square rectangle plus its reciprocal. The root five rectangle is regarded as the base of dynamic symmetry.

These are all simple, well-known, mathematical principles. Mr. Hambidge's achievement is the application of these principles to the analysis and interpretation of Greek design. The present work is concerned only with one class of products, vases, and the subsequent chapters are devoted to diagrammatical analysis of many examples in various museums. Almost all the measurements were made or checked by officers at these several museums, so that the possibility of mechanical error is minimized. The results are, indeed, amazing. An ordinary Greek vase of usual graceful shape is found to be constructed on an elaborate system of interrelated squares and rectangles with their reciprocals, and diagonals with their perpendiculars, etc., all with a degree of accuracy that is rather appalling to common human nature with its obtrusive frailties. The apprentices and slaves of Greek potters with uniform skill seem to have followed impeccable models, without variation from exactitude by so much as a jot or a tittle.

Mr. Hambidge is applying these same mathematical principles more widely in the study of Greek design and for the past year has been making, in Greece itself, an analysis of the construction of the Greek temple. The development of his results will be awaited with great interest. In the meantime the elements here enunciated are being taught in various schools of design, and are being practiced with most pleasing success in the workshops of some modern commercial studios. It will be an inestimable boon to modern design if the proportion and symmetry, so characteristic in common Greek products, can be again freely produced. Mr. Hambidge has done a great service in pointing out the means to this end. He has also been instrumental in attracting the interest of wider circles than usual to the perfection of Greek design. The student of Greek archaeology will peruse with great care the principles stated and the analyses explained, and, moreover, as mathematics is an exact science, each student can test for himself, to his own complete satisfaction, the applicability of the principles of dynamic symmetry to any particular case with which he may be concerned.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY T. LESLIE SHEAR

Titus Pomponius Atticus: Chapters of a Biography. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College. By Alice Hill Byrne. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (1920). Pp. viii + 103.

The brief biography of Atticus by Nepos is careless in its handling of fact, deficient in psychological penetration, and characterized by sweeping generalizations which cannot be taken literally. Nevertheless, it has the value of a work by a contemporary of Atticus and contains passages that seem to echo conversations of its author with Atticus. The chief

source for Atticus's life is, of course, the Letters of Cicero. When all allowances are made, "the letters remain one of the most sincere and frank of extant human documents" (vii). It is a "fair inference" that, in the speeches assigned to Atticus in Cicero's dialogues, the author would not make Atticus express opinions and ideas at variance with those he actually held. Of the modern authorities Drumann's chapter (Geschichte Roms, 5.5-87; revised by Groebe) is erudite, "invaluable as an index but of small value as an interpretation" (vii). Ungherini and Boissier have been influenced too much by Drumann. The biography of Atticus by Peter, in his Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae, the monographs of Münzer on the literary works of Atticus, the studies of Cicero by Strachan-Davidson and Sihler, are good. The above are the main conclusions of Dr. Byrne in regard to her material. She acknowledges also a great debt to the edition of Cicero's Letters, by Tyrrell and Purser.

Three chapters follow her Introduction. They deal successively with Atticus as Man of Business (1-22), Atticus as Man of Letters (23-51), and Atticus in Politics (52-102). In the first chapter we find Atticus engaged in financial and business affairs of a size and scope impressive even when measured by modern standards. In the light of a business career like that of Atticus, we realize the shallowness of the view held by certain economists, that 'capitalism' is a purely modern phenomenon. As banker and broker, real estate owner and agent, Atticus appears to have conducted in Rome something in the nature of a modern trust company. He was an agriculturist and stock raiser on his great Epirote estate, a merchant at least in highly trained slaves, and, as is well known, a publisher. In these activities he appears as usual as a "friend of all the world", performing for his friends many exacting commissions apparently without compensation and freely lending vast sums. Cicero, who had a high standard of business honor, assumes in his letters a similar standard in Atticus. Atticus desired for the provinces a good 'business administration' which should safeguard property and protect the creditor class, but at the same time protect the provincials from oppression. He had many investments in the provinces and lent money to the provincial cities.

The chapter on Atticus as Man of Letters brings home the fact that Atticus, if Cicero's inferior in genius, was at least his equal in culture. The extent to which Cicero, while he was writing his works, leaned upon the literary judgment and taste of Atticus is striking in a man so vain as the orator. The education of the two friends appears to have been along the same lines. As a young man Atticus visited Athens and developed there the enthusiasm for Greek art and literature that earned for him his surname. The quotations in Cicero's letters (compare the interesting list on page 30) show that Cicero assumes in Atticus a wide acquaintance with both Greek and Latin poets. In Athens Atticus frequented the gardens of Epicurus. Epicurus's scientific explanation of the world as well as his philosophy of conduct appealed to a temperament not greatly prone apparently to mysticism or passion. But Cicero "did not classify Atticus with the confessed hedonists that he counted as representative of the school" (35). Atticus was especially interested in politics and history. He deprecated the lack of literary form, of philosophy and of critical method in Latin historiography, and justly preferred the Greek historians. A list of Atticus's literary works is given (40 ff.). The most important of these was the Annals, a history of Rome from the founding of the city, in which special attention was paid to chronology and genealogy. Atticus had apparently the cooperation of Varro in this work. Cicero, in the works he published after the appearance of Atticus's book (in the Brutus and the Academica, for example, as compared with the earlier De Re Publica and De Oratore), shows an increased interest in history and chronology which can be ascribed only to the influence of the Annals (compare 40 ff., and the notes, especially the references to Münzer's article in Hermes [1905], 50-100). The Annals exerted considerable influence in Atticus's day and in the generations immediately following. Pliny, for instance, quotes Atticus as one of his sources for Books 7 and 33 of his Natural History. But the Annals had apparently disappeared by the time of Suetonius. In Doctor Byrne's opinion one of the reasons why the work fell into oblivion was that the hopes of Atticus for Roman historiography had been fulfilled. History had taken its place as a literary form, and by the side of the new works a "meager and unadorned work like the *Annals* might easily fail of appreciation" (51).

In the chapter on Atticus in Politics, the author gives in annalistic form a detailed narrative and analysis of Atticus's public activity from 65 to 44 B. C. (inclusive), expressed chiefly through his relations to, and influence on, Cicero. A few facts and general conclusions may be noted. As is well known, Atticus never rose above the equestrian rank and never aspired to public office. He had, however, a keen interest in politics, and definite political ideals, and looked to Cicero to express these ideals in action. Cicero, in the De Legibus 3.26-27, makes him profess a "life-long dislike for all popular movements". He was identified with the equestrian class, but in no partisan spirit; he was opposed to unscrupulous class legislation in favor of the equites. He believed in sound administration rather than constitutional reform, "in legislation promoting commerce without arousing class antagonism by favoritism" (57). "In his leadership of the *equites*, he doubtless urged a policy of moderate demands, efficient public service, honest gains" (57). He cooperated zealously with Cicero in the latter's attempt to effect a *concordia* between the senatorial and the equestrian classes. It is evident that Cicero, in attempting to rally the Optimates against the Triumvirs in 56, was acting against Atticus's advice. Letters of Cicero (4.6;8.1) seem to indicate that Atticus was advising

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cooperation, even subordination, to the Triumvirs, "but that he still felt that Cicero had a peculiar province in the state" (71). By 51 Atticus, like Cicero, had come definitely to regard Caesar as dangerous, and now advised Cicero to withdraw from his connection with Caesar. Atticus had not at first shared Cicero's enthusiasm for Pompey, but we now find him among Pompey's partisans. When the conflict between Caesar and the Senate began, the character of Atticus's advice to Cicero can be inferred from Cicero's letters of December, 50 B. C. 'I really disapprove of opposing Caesar, but my vote shall go with Pompey' (7.6.2), and, a few days later, 'I vote with Gnaeus Pompey, that is with Titus Pomponius' (7.7.7). Atticus clung to the belief that peace with honor could be made between the Optimates and Caesar, but he never wavered in his view that, should peace prove impossible, it was Cicero's duty finally to leave Italy and take his place by the side of Pompey if the latter 'made a stand somewhere' (9.10.7). In 49 Atticus himself, while in Rome, "accommodated himself to the Caesarian régime" (88), but apparently without servility. He took up Cicero's cause with the Caesarians, but was not in a position directly to ask favors from Caesar. He protested against Cicero's retirement from the Forum after Tullia's death, and urged him at least to write political articles. In 44 Atticus joined the group of those who openly rejoiced at the assassination of Caesar, and did what he could to rally a party around Brutus. He distrusted Octavian and warned Cicero against him. It was apparently Atticus who gave Cicero the signal for the publication of the Second Phillipic—Cicero's definite declaration of war against Antony. For the remainder of the life of Atticus we are dependent mainly upon the biography of Nepos. How, after the part he had played, he escaped in the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate is, to the present writer at least, something of a mystery. Apparently he had by his manifold services to his contemporaries garnered so rich a harvest of golden opinions that the Triumvirs thought it wise to spare him. Dr. Byrne thus sums up his influence on Cicero (101-102):

> The greatest value of his counsel lay in its constant moral stimulus. If he could not advise great action, he could advise great renunciations. Whether he could have steeled himself to recommending martyrdom if he had thought cause and occasion worthy it is not possible to say; he certainly did not want Cicero to suffer martyrdom for the sake of Pompey, nor Brutus at the hands of Antony. But there was in him strength to advise Cicero to put aside proffered advancement for the sake of principle, to insist on work in smaller spheres when he had thus closed to himself the great avenues to prosperity and honors, and through years of such work to supply him with patience, courage and a sense of accomplishment.

In this work the author has effected a synthesis of facts already familiar—always a service in a study so divided among specialists as that of Roman antiquity—and she has contributed many valuable ideas and observations of her own. Her exploitation of the source material seems thorough. Among the modern authorities cited one misses a few familiar titles (Forsyth's biography of Cicero for instance), but it may be assumed that this is because Dr. Byrne did not regard these works as contributing anything of special value to her study of Atticus.

SMITH COLLEGE, NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS WILLIAM D. GRAY

Alt Kreta: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Ägäischen Kulturkreise. By Helmuth Th. Bossert. Berlin: Wasmuth (1921). Pp. 66. 272 Illustrations.

This beautiful and elaborately illustrated work has just reached this country and is doubtless destined—on account of its relatively low price no less than of its merits—to enjoy widespread popularity. It should, in particular, be of preeminent service to teachers of courses in Aegean civilization.

The introductory portion presupposes a somewhat detailed knowledge on the part of the reader of the main facts attending the life and activities of the Creto-Mycenaean peoples, and consists of a series of essays on Aegean subjects written in a strikingly brilliant and racy style (one finds it hard to believe that, after all, Herr Bossert is not of Gallic origin!). The author discusses such topics as the relation of Aegean art to Etruscan, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hittite!, Aegean religion as manifested in the artistic remains, Does the oriental or the occidental element predominate in early Crete and the Islands?, What is the position of the female in the Aegean religion and State? Then, after the introduction of a chronological table—which is, however, scarcely up to date in its nomenclature—, a section of the book is devoted to the presentation of a valuable list of sources of information regarding Crete and her peoples, derived from Egyptian, Babylonian, and Biblical originals.

The illustrations, which cover more than two hundred consecutive pages, are of uniform style and are uncolored. They comprise the entire field, and include topographical plans, architecture, painting, sculpture in relief and in the round, pottery, sword-blades, gold ornaments, and seals. There appear also some examples of Cretan script, including the Phaestos Disk, and a series of monuments from Egypt which are of Cretan origin or bear strong indications of Cretan influence. The arrangement of this illustrative material is far in advance of that of the ordinary handbook and cannot be too highly commended. A preceding section of the text (though, somewhat curiously, not immediately preceding) furnishes such details as the provenance of each work of art shown, its present location, and, generally, a statement of its original publication.

The book is not altogether free from inconsistencies and small errors, particularly in its references to English publications; notwithstanding, it is undoubtedly the best work of its size on this subject that has yet appeared.

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Printed by W. F. Humphrey, 300 Pulteney St., Geneva, N. Y.

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Organized in November, 1906
Membership April 11, 1921, 724

Dues - - - - - $2.00 per annum

(The year runs from May 1 to April 30)

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Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorised on June 28, 1918.

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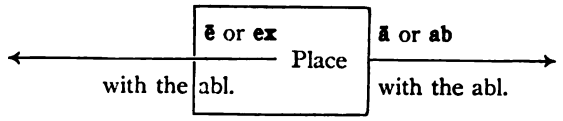

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, No. 9 MONDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1921 WHOLE NO. 405

HOMER AND RECENT DISCOVERIES[1]

The scope of this paper will appear as I proceed. But let me say at the outset that we may regard it as a good omen, that it has chanced that the first paper to be read from this chair should be devoted to Homer. To the Greeks Homer was first in several ways. He was, as indeed he is to ourselves, at the beginning of literature. He was the *fons perennis*, the fountain-head of inspiration for all bards; he was the foundation of all knowledge and wisdom. Education must begin with the poems as an encyclopedia of all the arts, and the model for all accomplishment in letters. I think a short Education Act of one Greek State made that compulsory. So that we are in a manner following ancient precedent when we say with Quintilian, *nos rite coepturi ab Homero*. It is good for us to make a beginning with Homer.

Up to about half a century ago, say the year 1870, when I was graduating in Aberdeen, Homeric study was largely occupied with what is to be found, as the saying is, between the two boards of the book. But, leaving the substance of the poems, a lecturer on the epic might have gone on to trace their influence on all European literature, to compare them with other heroic poetry, and even to deal with the heroic age generally as a stage in national development. And he could not have avoided the great Homeric Question. But other phases of the study that are familiar to us hardly existed for him. It is of these new extensions that I propose to speak.

In 1870 the great controversy as to the age and the authorship of the poems was in full blast, and it has continued to rage ever since. But I am not going to trouble you with any account of it; I only use it as a starting-point. You know the main issue, whether these poems are the work of one poetic genius, or of many minds elaborating them through long ages, and you also know that Dr. Walter Leaf, the distinguished author of a large critical edition of the Iliad, has in the past been one of the leading advocates in this country of the methods, peculiarly German, by which the poems have been dissected into fragments. He has now, in a remarkable palinode, when demitting office as President of the Hellenic Society, formally abjured these methods as "obsolete and harmful", and has condemned German Homeric scholarship as "hopelessly effete and sterile". And he goes on to suggest a better means of solving the Homeric problem. We are to confront Homer with what he calls the "realities of life" as discovered by the geographer and the archaeologist. It is my purpose this afternoon to consider some of these realities, and to see what is their special interest for the student of Homer.

Three influences have combined since the opening of the present century to bring these realities of the ancient Greek world into prominence. First, renewed study of the Homeric Catalogues of the Greek and the Trojan forces, resulting in their rescue from the slough of contempt in which German criticism had immersed them, has confirmed the truth of the Homeric geography. For one thing, and it is worth bearing in mind in regard to the Greek Catalogue, this earliest of all descriptions of Greece has been proved to apply exactly to the Mycenaean world, as that world has been restored to us by excavation.

The second influence was the publication by a French scholar and explorer, M. Victor Bérard, of a very delightful work on the Odyssey, in which he showed how much reality there is in the travels of the hero of that poem. These have been familiar to us all from childhood as wanderings in Wonderland. M. Bérard, on the contrary, shows that at any rate most of them took place, not in that extramundane sphere, but in the world of fact, and that again has helped to establish the truth and the actuality of the Homeric record.

The third influence is the archaeological; it is the most important of the three. In 1870 there would have been questions, for our imaginary lecturer, such as these: Was the poet describing a real world, whether he knew it as his own environment, or only by tradition? And if it was real, how was it to be dated with reference to what we know of Greek history? And he would have found it hard to answer because, until shortly after that year, our knowledge of Greece went back only to the eighth century before Christ. Beyond that all was darkness, with myth and legend instead of records, and history for Greece had not begun.

That has all been changed by the excavations of Schliemann, Evans, and others, but the significance of the resulting revolution in our knowledge of classical antiquity is perhaps not realized as fully as it should be. It would be too much to say that it is to be placed beside other great events in world history which are styled epoch-making, but let us at least reflect that our concern is with the Mediterranean and the countries about its Eastern waters. There was the cradle in which all ancient civilisation was nursed, and in which our modern culture and our religion originated. The importance of the results of the exploration of these regions is thus clear. It is just

[1] This paper was read, on October 23, 1920, as a Presidential Address, to the newly established St. Andrews's Branch of The Classical Association of Scotland.

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this—that there are many things in our present-day civilisation which we cannot properly understand without examining its growth, and the first step to that end is obviously the study of its birth in the Mediterranean area.

The archaeologist, in extending our knowledge of Greece and things Greek by many centuries, has furnished us with much information about the great Minoan power, known to us before only by vague tradition, with its capital at Knossos in Crete, with wide dominion, and with settlements even in remote parts of the Western Mediterranean. It has a high civilisation, with an art which exhibits, to quote from a recent work, "an originality, power and taste which in several respects will bear comparison with the art of Greece at its best period". Trade, commerce, and navigation are active, timber and copper being to it what coal and iron have been to us. It is an island empire like our own, with unfortified towns, and depending for protection on its fleet. In the fifteenth century B. C.—1450 seems now to be the favorite date—it is crushed, the Minoan Age ends, and power in some way, not finally ascertained, passes from Crete to Mycenae on the mainland of Greece. Then begins the Mycenaean Age, and it lasts till the eleventh century, after which comes the real but now gradually contracting Dark Age of Greece. But the fascinating story of the Crete of Minos and that of Mycenae can be read in many familiar manuals. My purpose is to gather some of the results that flow from the discoveries in the Aegean, and from the more intensive study of the geography of very ancient Greece.

One of these is that the Homeric arena is seen to be just the Greek world, though perhaps not so populous, which was the scene of those dramas which Herodotus and Thucydides afterwards presented to their readers. You have first Greece itself with the coasts and the islands of the Aegean. This was the known, the well-known world. But there was another sphere in the Western Mediterranean, and it is there that the adventures of Odysseus are placed. It is true that the mariners of Crete had sailed West, even as far as Italy, as early, so Sir Arthur Evans assures us, as the fourth millenium B. C., but these Western seas were not familiarly known, especially after the Cretan power had declined. They were thus a suitable locale wherein to place the Great Wanderings, which, if we except some obviously fairy features which the poet has woven into his narrative, are based on the information, vague of course and no doubt often exaggerated and even deliberately distorted, brought by shipmen who had had experience of the less civilised peoples of the West.

That is all that time permits me to say of Homer's world. As regards the life that was lived in it there has been a problem—to reconcile and correlate the culture described in the poems with the civilisation uncovered by the spade, and that has not been easy, but Sir Arthur Evans can now say that the life which Homer depicts may be as early as the close of the Mycenaean period. The point for us is that the Homeric life is seen to have been a real life in a real world, and it is a point for young Homeric students to mark. As Sir William Ramsay recently put it, "the poems are only a fragment taken out of the Tale of Troy for his own purpose"—Homer's purpose as a poet—,"but under and behind them is a vast basis of history and religion and adventure and voyage and trade and war". The epic in fact gives us the very age and body of the time. It exhibits a world in action, a world in its vigorous youth, and that is why some have claimed that Homer is the only true epic poet in all literature. His is an epic of national life and high emprise.

I will take one aspect of the life, the commerce. We now know how ancient and active it was. You may, if you please, see nothing in the voyages of Jason and Theseus to the Black Sea, or in the adventures of Herakles outside the Mediterranean, but the demonstrations of the archaeologist are not to be disregarded. We read them with surprise, but he soothes our incredulity with the assurance that we are to forget the "unplumbed estranging sea" of which the poets speak, and believe with him that "of all geographical impediments to intercourse the sea is the least effective". The long voyages of the Polynesians in mere canoes are often referred to in illustration. Ages before Homeric days the Minoans of Crete traded with Egypt and Libya, with Spain in the West, and perhaps with the Black Sea in the East. The Odyssey, as interpreted by Bérard, shows us how this intercourse was carried on, and nothing in his book is more striking than his demonstration that the Sailing Directions—so to call them—in this old poem are almost identical verbally with the Instructions issued by the Admiralties of our day for the guidance of the naval and mercantile marine of Europe. And this navigation was active in spite of the smallness of the craft, the perils of the sea, and the dangers from piracy, though possibly these last had been, as tradition asserts, diminished or suppressed by the Cretan warships. And here there is another parallel with our own country. Just as Minos made the seas safe for his mercantile marine, so has Britain suppressed, in her own and the general interest, piracy, the slave-trade and gun-running in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the China Seas. Let me cite yet another parallel between the ancient days and modern Europe. You remember that the Odyssey shows that piracy was a not discreditable occupation. It is spoken of as quite an ordinary means of amassing wealth. Compare then the Vikings of Scandinavia, who went on their 'summer-ledings' for part of the year, and during the rest of it led the lives of quiet, respectable country gentlemen.

The traffic by land is of equal interest. Again it startles us to hear that in that age there were long trade routes for the conveyance of caravans of goods. There was one from Central Asia to Northern Italy,

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another across Europe by which amber came down from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and yet another from Asia Minor up through Troy and on to Serbia. Think of the mountains and the rivers, the forests and the marshes and the barren wastes that barred the way. Yet trade there was, and the explanation, strange as it may seem, appears to have been—blackmail. Rulers who were, in origin at least, only robber chiefs, established strongholds, what in modern Turkey are called *dervendjis*, at which they levied dues, and in return helped and protected the trade which it was their interest to encourage as a source of gain. Mycenae itself, that great grim fortress, was only a big toll-house in the mountains, and it made the foreigner pay, as our genteel expression is, by squeezing taxes out of the trade between East and West. The lords of Mycenae and Corinth, as I believe, prevented traffic from crossing the Isthmus and compelled it to pass Mycenae and pay toll. We are all familiar with the name of one of these rulers, Sisyphus. Homer says of him, *κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν*, which R. L. Stevenson would, I suppose, have translated, 'he was the howlingest cheese for trickery that ever lived'. You remember he cheated Death himself, and, when they did get him settled in Hades, he escaped, but was caught and condemned to force up a hill a stone that ever rolled down again. But what is not so well known is that the punishment fitted one of his cruel amusements on earth, which was to hurl rocks down the hills of the Isthmus on travellers using the narrow way below. I suggest that we may have here, embedded in the myth, an embargo on traffic, cruder no doubt than the expedients employed by modern nations for the capture of one another's commerce, to force traders to use the route that best suited the lord of the Isthmus.

I turn from commerce to war, to that famous war against Troy which was the great heroic achievement of early Greece. In the two epics we have the whole story—the origin of the war, the preliminary negotiations, the gathering of the clans, the course of the war, the capture of Troy, and the return of the chiefs to their homes. Formerly this renowned tale was to many scholars mere myth or moonshine. Troy had never existed. Helen was the Dawn, Penelope the Clouds, and Odysseus the Sun or the Moon.

We can now take a different view. Homeric Troy is there, as Schliemann when a boy told his father it *must* be. And the war itself, 'that laid old Troy in ashes', is accepted as a struggle between East and West that actually took place, that may have begun at an even earlier period, and that may be said to be ending only now. The dismantling of the Gallipoli fortifications that was commenced a few months ago was the opening of the last scene in the last act of a drama which began when the good ship Argo—famous already in Homer's day, for he says she was in all men's mouths—burst through the Straits and into the silent sea beyond. The great expedition from Achaeis came later, the ultimate compelling cause being then as now economic. I recently saw it concisely stated in enormous letters of blood, the better to make one's flesh creep, on the contents bill of a newspaper at a railway station—"Dearer Bread and Butter". Greece wanted more and cheaper grain and olives. But scholars of repute are willing to believe that the abduction of an Achaean princess was, as Homer sings, the immediate cause, just as the immediate cause of our Great War and its 'woes unnumbered' (including dear bread and butter and all else) was the murder of an Austrian prince.

But, further, the main event, the culmination of the enterprise or series of enterprises in the overthrow of the power that barred the Dardanelles—a name that in its origin goes far beyond Homer—is now known to have taken place just when the ancients said it did, towards the close of the twelfth century. The year 1184 B. C. for the fall of Troy used to be one which we respected about as little as 4,004, but now it is practically accepted. The evidence has been brought together and examined with a wealth of knowledge in a very remarkable paper by Messrs. Frost and Myres, published in the Leipzig periodical Klio, early in the recent Great War, and entitled The Historical Background of the Trojan War. I read it myself, if you will excuse the expression, with a chuckle. Many years ago, in his Homeric Synchronism, Gladstone compared a fictitious expedition to Egypt, described by Odysseus in the Odyssey when disguised as a beggar, with a coalition from the North against an Egyptian king which is an historical fact, and he argued that, if that coalition was in the poet's mind when he wrote the passage, here was obviously an important link between the Egypt of history and the Greece of the epic. His argument, which somehow appealed to me as a mere tyro, probably got no attention, for his Homeric Studies were, as I once saw it put in the Athenaeum, the "Punch" of Oxford reading men in those days. But see how the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges. You will find in the paper I have mentioned exactly the same argument on similar data, though naturally Egyptology has made these more abundant now. The old *Φιλόμηρος* was right.

In regard to this great central fact, then, Homer has been vindicated. But we know he is true to life in many another detail, for these discoveries enable us to see many a Homeric thing, and indeed many a Homeric scene, with our own eyes. A big two-handled cup that has been found answers exactly to the description in the Iliad of the jug in which a refreshing posset was brewed for Nestor, back from the fighting on the plain. Gems have been found which show us how the Homeric encounters with lions were fought. The scene on the famous shield of Achilles in which the battlements of a beleaguered city are manned by the old men, the women, and the boys, when all the men able to bear arms have gone out to meet the enemy, is depicted on a fragment of a silver vase, and the exquisite description of a dance, in which youths and maidens now whirl about in a

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circle with the smoothness of a potter's wheel, and now break into lines and advance to meet each other, may well, we are told, have been suggested to the poet by a fresco which adorns an inner wall of the palace at Knossos.

There is vindication in another direction; there is much confirmation of tradition, even of old legends, of which Greece has a larger stock than most countries. These apparently idle tales have been found, many of them, to have a core of truth which has been overlaid by spurious accretion, but the addition has not destroyed, it has only served to preserve, this nucleus. The recovery of these particles of fact is a fascinating task, but of course must not be pushed too far. Sisyphus has already afforded one little example, and the Trojan War is itself an outstanding instance. I will add yet another, and a very informing one. We have all read in Kingsley's Heroes the story of Minos, king of Crete, whose "ships are as the sea-gulls" and whose "palace is like a marble hall", and of Theseus and Ariadne and the Labyrinth and the grisly Minotaur. We now have it from the archaeologist that every item in the tale has its origin in real life. Some day it may be proved that some knowledge of aeronautics is implicit in the tale of Daedalus and the wings he made for his son. It may even be discovered that the legend of the giant Talus, who patrolled the coasts of Crete and who could make himself red-hot to invaders, conceals some means devised by the Minoan Government to supplement the sure shield which it possessed in its grand fleet.

But, if these discoveries confirm, they also correct, confounding the wisdom of some of our older scholars. For example, there is a book by a German, Victor Hehn, on the wanderings of plants and animals from their home in Asia to Greece and Italy[2]. It is crammed with erudition and it achieved a great reputation. But the editor of the eighth edition has had to point out that the archaeologist has now rendered many of the conclusions nugatory. We forget all speculations as to the lateness of the introduction of the olive into Europe, when we see the tree figured on a Cretan sarcophagus and find the stones of the fruit. The same may be said of the cat, which appears as a sign in certain Cretan writing[3]. The dove, instead of reaching Greece in 500 B. C., was there at least as far back as the year 2,000. Or consider the question of writing. You remember the 'baleful signs' mentioned in Iliad 6, and the dispute there was over the question whether writing was known in Homer's age. It has now been ascertained that writing was familiar at a far earlier date. In Crete pottery was inscribed "in a running hand" with reed pen and ink centuries before, and in Egypt "a rapid form of writing on jars" was known at a still earlier period. The old discussions have become antiquated, and we hear with amazement that it was our old biblical friends, the Philistines, the Philistines of all people, whose name is in these days a synonym for the uncultured, who took the Cretan script to Palestine, where Phoenicians adopted and modified it, and transmitted it to Europe. And Europe, Professor Sayce tells us, had a narrow escape from something worse. There was a time when the cuneiform script was within an ace of becoming predominant in the world. Our corruption of the Phoenician characters in our daily correspondence is often weird enough, but apparently it is thought that with cuneiform we should have achieved even greater prodigies of illegibility.

Another point of interest is the modernness of much that has been discovered. Who could have dreamt, for instance, that anything approaching the style of female attire in these days of ours had ever before existed under the sun? Yet the Cretan frescoes display ladies of the period dressed in fashions, and with a verve, that extort from a Frenchman the exclamation that they are "vraies Parisiennes". They show us, in yellow, purple, and blue as the prevailing colors, pleated skirts, zouave jackets, pinched waists—probably, says an Italian authority, produced by stays—and elaborate hairdressing and high-heeled shoes. There seems to have been a pretty taste in what our audaciously illustrated papers flaunt before our gaze as *lingerie*. At Tiryns, again, as we see from a wall-painting, ladies drove out to the hunt and were in at the death. In fact, in the words of one writer, "there was an open and easy association of men and women unparalleled till our own day". The Italian savant I have just quoted describes the Minoan kitchen apparatus as "full of ingenious contrivances, including a pot specially adapted for slow boiling". The drainage system of the great palace was based on an accurate knowledge of hydraulics, and was such as was never again equalled in Europe for about three thousand years, i. e. till the close of the eighteenth century of our own era—and you know from Aristophanes and other authors what the *in*sanitation of Athens in her prime was, a thousand years after the heyday of Crete, not to come down to our neighbour, "the modern Athens", and the horrors of 'gardyloo'[4]. Dr. Wace has recently told us how, as the result of further excavation at Mycenae, an astonishing system of walls, drains, and cisterns has been discovered there[5]. This helps us—here is confirmation of tradition again—to appreciate a not otherwise readily comprehensible story about Agamemnon recorded by Eustathius, who says that Agamemnon 'is represented as having taken delight in the digging of wells'. "Perhaps", says an authority, "Agamemnon maintained the artificial water-

[2]Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in Ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das Uebrige Europa[3] (Berlin, Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1911).

[3]We may therefore correct and supplement the very interesting article on the history of the cat, by Otto Keller, in Roemische Mitteilungen 23.40-70, which was summarized, by Dr. T. L. Shear, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2.165-166. C. K.

[4]A corruption of *gardez l'eau*, the warning householders in Edinburgh used to give before emptying slops from an upper window on to the street below. <There is a very interesting reference to this custom within the first ten pages of The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D., by James Boswell, which I associate with Juvenal 3. 276-277. C. K.>.

[5]There is a further paper on the subject by Dr. Wace, in the Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 1921.

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supply supposed to be implied in the story of Danaos and the Danaids".

But we need not go to the archaeologist for proof of this modernness. Careful reading of the Classics, even of a poet as old as Homer, should suffice, if we bear in mind the dictum of Sir Richard Jebb, that one of the objects of classical study should be "to see ancient life on every side which can illustrate our own". It should be a comfort to the modern grumbler that not only Aristophanes, but also less commonly read authors, such as Lucian or Athenaeus, or Theophrastus or Herondas, show that there was already much of our up-to-date (as we regard it) frivolity and foolishness in their day. There were strikes and corners; shopkeepers damped the wool and watered the liquor, and put the best figs on the top of the basket. There were knuts who lisped and drawled and jazzed, and ladies who rouged and adorned their faces with patches, and dyed their hair—auburn tresses being the favorite—and, in the words of Mark Twain describing present day practice, "curled and frizzled it into scandalous and ungodly forms". They had in those days freak dinners, very freakish indeed, and a mania for old furniture. They even had our little jokes. For some parallels see Mr. Platt's Byways in the Classics.

All this should help us to combat a not uncommon prejudice against the past, its peoples, their languages, and their ways, as a sorry scheme of things, musty, and necessarily inferior, and not worth troubling about. Go back to a period thousands of years, possibly a hundred thousand years, earlier than the palmy days of Crete, when men were still in the savage state, and dwelling, like Homer's 'Pheres', in the hollows of the hills. I read that on the walls of the caves of Altamira in Spain, "the Sistine Chapel", as it has been called, of prehistoric art, there are polychrome pictures which are "the admiration of the world". Or, to take a smaller matter, the needles with which the men of those days—the end of the early Stone Age—sewed their skins together were better than any the Romans ever used. Mr. Rice Holmes, in concluding his very interesting work on Ancient Britain, says, "perhaps the story which this book has told may lead a few to become less self-complacent, and to think more of their primitive ancestors". Or, to return to the East, of which, as the late Professor Mahaffy has told us, Greece is and has always been a part, I read in one of Professor Sayce's works that the Tel El Amarna tablets show that the Mosaic Age was, in literary culture, as civilised as our own, and that in the then world of the Near East there was fully as much intercourse between nations as at the present day. Our ideas on the subject need constant revision as discovery widens our knowledge. The oldest age of Greece is not so old after all. It is separated from us by a mere fraction of the hundred or more millenia that man has been on the earth, and nearer to us than we allow ourselves to believe. Our knowledge of prehistory is still scanty, and there are civilisations which have been born and have flourished and perished of which we know little. Civilisation, Professor Flinders Petrie tells us, is an intermittent phenomenon. During 10,000 years Egypt has had a series of civilisations. In the course of ages the same developments and ways and customs and what-not reappear at intervals. For "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun".

But my point is this, that the study of origins is always reducing our conceit in our progress, by showing us how much of the present, even of our advanced present, there is in the past. But what is of perhaps greater interest to the Homeric student is that there is so much of the past in the present, helping us to understand better past and present alike. How that is the province of the historian as well as of the antiquarian has been shown by Professor Hearnshaw in an interesting paper in the Contemporary Review for July. Examples abound for the Homerist. Take again the Homeric lion-hunts, of which we see spirited illustrations on Cretan gems. One such encounter, with spear and shield, was enacted a few years ago in *every* particular before Mr. Roosevelt in Zululand. I could illustrate some of the difficulties presented by the Homeric warrior's spearthrowing from Captain Cook's voyages, or from Professor Sollas's account, in his book on Ancient Hunters, of the extraordinary skill with the spear of the Tasmanian aborigines. I find my reading constantly supplies illustrations. Only a few days ago I read of an American lady in Sicily. She tells a wise woman there—2,000 years after Theocritus's time—of the second of that poet's Idylls, in which a lovelorn girl performs a charm to bring her lover back, whereupon the old lady works it out exactly as it had been done in the poet's day. Again, there is a controversy, made in Germany, about Ithaka, the home of Odysseus, in which one side makes capital out of the statement in the Odyssey, which it was disposed to ridicule, that flocks and herds were transported from the island to the mainland for pasture at certain seasons. A paper in the Scotsman newspaper last year described exactly the same practice in the Aran islands off the West coast of Ireland at the present day. Or, again, it astonished many people a few years ago to hear that pottery was being manufactured in the Hebrides without the wheel, as rude as the vessels that have been discovered in the early strata in Crete.

India can supply illustrations in abundance. One can see the steading of the good swineherd Eumaeus in clearings on the mountains of the West, and hard by the ἄλσος, the inviolate demesne of the god, in Sophocles's beautiful description, τὰν ἄβατον θεοῦ φυλλάδα μυριόκαρπον ἀνήλιον, and men as wild as Homer ever knew are still scratching the soil with Hesiod's onepiece plough. There are on the banks of the Nerbudda rude stone memorial pillars that match to a marvel the stelae which Schliemann unearthed at Mycenae. I have ridden twenty miles—I was young and inexperienced at the time, and never

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repeated the experiment—on the most primitive possible form of the Homeric car, and I had the very best reason for understanding how such a vehicle could be upset by collision with a mere tamarisk bush on the plain of Troy. And these are only a few facts out of many. I should like, however, to add this much. I had the good fortune to have for some years intimate acquaintance with a bit of the real old India, of India, that is, before it came under the settling influence of Britain, and the more I come to know, from the writings of experts, of Mycenaean Greece, the more I am convinced that conditions were very similar to what they were in this old India. In each country there were many states or chieftainships generally more or less in a state of unrest. Forest and waste were much more abundant than now, and the highways of traffic were the merest tracks. In old India there was hardly a mile of made road away from the vicinity of the great capital cities. In Greece there was but the one paved system in the neighborhood of Mycenae itself, remains of which are still visible to-day. The trade along these roads I have already referred to, and the description applies to India. We are told that, in the days when the Marathas were sweeping over the country and fighting and plundering year after year, in spite of this and other discouragements, trade went on so regularly that an order for cash issued by a banker in India would be honoured by his correspondent in the far North. The secret of it all is again blackmail in the shape of transit dues, which were formerly universal in India. They are now abolished, to the great relief of commerce, but in my own experience they were still levied, in an almost incredible number of forms, in the Native States. I have seen, in wild parts of the country, long lines of bullocks and ponies, owned and led by gipsies called Wanjāris—a name which means Traversers of the Forest—toiling heavy laden over tracks in the jungle over which one would say no domesticated animal could pass even without a load. And these tracks had been used from time immemorial. I remember one which had fallen into disuse and become covered by forest, but which could be traced by a series of splendid wells built by the gipsy leaders who had earned wealth from the trade they served. I conceive that these were just the conditions that obtained in Mycenaean Greece, and that the paths over which the traveller in the Greece of to-day sees mules and asses carrying burdens were the arteries of commerce in those early days.

Then the past is at our doors of course in language—language which you know has been said to be fossil poetry. To extract the past is the function of the linguistic palaeontologist, and you know how he charms us with his surprises. I learnt with pleasure the other day that, when I say I am going for a walk along the *dunes* by the sea in St. Andrews, I am using the word that Homer uses in the resounding phrase παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. It would, however, take me beyond my limits to show the extent to which—to use the words of an American professor—"we unconsciously use the heritage of classical antiquity", but let me tell you of a striking illustration which he gave. Some twenty-five centuries ago some Greek mercenaries employed in Egypt carved an inscription, which still exists, on the leg of the colossal statue of King Rameses II. The professor took from it letters, in all their old native rudeness, and made with them the sentence, THE PAST IS NOT SO DEAD AS SOME MEN STATE IT TO BE, and these words, framed in old Greek letters, could be read off without any hesitation by any child that knows the capital letters of our alphabet. That old collection of letters lives, and so does the language. It is not to be thought of or spoken of as *dead*. I hope you have all read Professor Postgate's admirable pamphlet entitled Dead Language and Dead Languages, the arguments in which are a most effective antidote to that foolish idea (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 5.33-34, 41-42).

There is one branch of this subject, relating to Place-names, which has proved of the greatest service to the ethnologist in his Mediterranean researches. The names of mountains and the rivers, and even of towns after they have disappeared, or left only ruins or shapeless mounds, continue to cling to the localities. As Canon Taylor says in his Words and Places—one of those many charming treatises on word-lore with which all young students should be familiar—"the hills, the valleys and the rivers are the writing-tablets on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their names". Let us take Hellas, as notable a name, I suppose, as any in history. It is still the name of Greece to-day, as you see from its postage stamps. It is as old as Homer, though to him it meant little more than a district of Thessaly, the valley of the Spercheus. And all these ages it has never left that spot, for Messrs. Wace and Thompson, when engaged on excavation there, found that the river is still known locally as the Elládha. The Caesareas and Alexandrias of classical times and the Victorias of our own day tell their own stories, and just so do the Minoas which Minos of Crete, or successive monarchs of that name, which may be a dynastic title like Pharaoh or Caesar, scattered about the Mediterranean. They indicate points to which the Cretan power extended. Again, the man familiar with Homer was no doubt more interested than others when he read in June last of that thrust by the Greeks from the neighbourhood of Smyrna against their hereditary foe, for it was Homer that first made known to him the Hyllus and the Hermus and Tmolus Mount and Ida and Lapsaké and other names.

And now a word as to the future, which I am happy to think is full of promise, for those of you especially who are on the threshold of life. Our knowledge of antiquity, which generally increases but slowly, may soon make an advance *per saltum*. It is something for the eager young scholar to look forward to. Some day the inscribed clay tablets, which the conflagration which destroyed the palace at Knossos baked and preserved for us, and which have so far defied the

skill even of their discoverer, will be read, concurrently, we may hope, with the certain decipherment of Hittite records and the more thorough excavation of sites in Asia Minor which new political conditions will render feasible. The Knossos tablets may be, as some certainly are, only inventories of the stores and treasures kept in the cellars of that labyrinthine pile, but hope suggests that there may be among them other documents, possibly lists of tribute in kind exacted by Crete of the hundred cities from the coasts and islands that she held in fee, or even—I think Sir Arthur Evans has himself made the suggestion—excerpts from the famous laws of Minos. Think of the joy of the classical antiquary when he shall be able to compare these with the later ordinances of Gortyn or with the code of Hammurabi. In any case the language in which they are written will be given its place in one of the accepted classes of human tongues, and *then* will be settled the relation of this mysterious and marvellous Minoan race to other members of the human family. The Homerists' interest in ethnology has now become a wide one. He cannot eschew the various Aryan controversies, he must keep an eye on the Danubian culture and on Southern Russia, he has hopes from Hittite exploration, he is even drawn across to far Turkestan to listen to its newly discovered language, Tocharic. He finds attraction in works on the migrations of peoples and in what is called human geography and the influence of environment, and even in the lucubrations of the anthropologist and folklorist on ritual and belief, on magic and mana, and all the apparatus of what these wise men call in antique phrase "ye beastlie devices of ye heathen". And to all these pleasant fields of skilled enquiry he is led by a love for Homer and his age.

But chiefly we owe our increasing interest to the labors of the working archaeologist. He has at times been the object of mild pleasantry, and his work has been described as the science of pots. Let us pay him our humble acknowledgements and remember that, as he sifts the earth that his laborers dig for him, and carefully examines and labels every fragment of pottery or some other artifact, however minute, and stores them in pillboxes, he is making *history* for us, the history of a world that has long lain in the darkness of the uncharted past. He even brings back, as I have said, much of that world bodily to the light of day. A few years ago an American young lady excavator observed some sherds lying about on a certain spot in Crete. Her workmen were set to dig, and before long, from the tumulus in which Nature had reverently buried it, there was revealed the complete skeleton of a Minoan town, with its houses and lanes, the palace of its king, and the little shrine with a well-worn way leading to it. Its discoverer has speculated on its fate. A day comes when the home fleet of Crete is engaged elsewhere. Pirates seize the opportunity, descend on the town, capture and burn it, and, as is the custom of the day described to us in two poignant lines of the Iliad, slaughter or enslave its people and extinguish its life with all its activities. And then, you remember Keats's words as he looks on an old Grecian urn—

> little town, thy streets for evermore
> Will silent be, and not a soul, to tell
> Why thou art desolate, will e'er return.

And now you will retort on me that this Homeric banquet, as Aeschylus styled it, is so rich and so profuse that no man of ordinary leisure can hope to do justice to it. But you will admit that there is a variety that will suit many tastes and give ample room for choice. I would urge my younger hearers to begin early, remembering that after life's work comes rest in old age, when leisure is more, and that to cultivate a good lifelong hobby is like accumulating a store of gold. I have endeavored to show that the study of Homer is a manysided interest, but, if you cannot find time to wander into fields which I have sought to describe, there is at least the poetry itself, unsurpassed for combined grace and splendor, for beauty and fire, and for, in the fine words of Professor Saintsbury on Greek literature as a whole, "the unique combination of order and freedom, of beauty and strength, and the amazing marriage of logic and magic". And with all this, there is no extravagance or excess, no yearning to split the ears of the groundlings. And that may be commended as the supreme lesson from communion with Homer. You will soon be able to appreciate, in all its pristine purity and strength, the measure, the balance, the harmony—by many names men call it—that never fails. And this without any detriment to the infinite variety of the poetry. A modern poet has even styled Homer "myriad-minded", and you remember Quintilian's magnificent judgment on the range of his genius: Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superavit; idem laetus ac gravis, tum copia, tum brevitate mirabilis. But in all his moods and whatever his theme, there is no relaxation of restraint. There you have the mintmark of the masterpieces of all Greek art, and it is a trait that calls for more and more respect and imitation in the literature of our day. I have seen it described as "one of those canons of taste which we so easily take for granted or in ignorance neglect". It is summed up in Homer's own precept, that moderation, or the saving principle of Sophrosyné, is best in all things, and that is just the famous, the golden, μηδὲν ἄγαν, or the πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν ἄκαιρον, of later Greek.

And the earnest student of Homer will go further, and discover for himself new beauties and new depths; it was a very diligent delver in the poems, Mr. Gladstone, who warned us that "it takes time to sound the depths of Homer". To the ancients, as I have said, he was a teacher, and I have tried to show that we, in this late age, are only now realising how much we have to learn from him. I remember the day, many years ago now, when I first read and copied on the flyleaf of my Homer the words of an Oxford scholar, Cyril Jackson, "let no day pass without your having your Homer in your hand. Elevate

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your mind by continual meditation on the vastness of his comprehension"—in an old epigram that included the universe, *terram, mare, sidera, manes*—"and the unerring accuracy of all his conceptions", and I confess I can remember smiling at the apparent hyperbole. I have lived to realise that the words affirm no more than the absolute truth. It is homage that any poet might be proud to earn, but surely a wonderful tribute to one who lived in the childhood of our modern world.

But it is essential to the proper appreciation of the poetry of Homer that you know him intimately. Brother Copas, in the story of that name by Sir Arthur Quiller Couch, insists that you must "soak yourself" in the poetry. The aim should be to be able to revel in it as if written in a second native language, to steep yourself in the Homeric spirit, and to be as familiar with the contents as you are or should be with the books of the Bible. Nor should this present any difficulty to any classical student who begins early and who makes a companion of the poet. For, with all his power, Homer is so simple and so clear. To another of our own poets he was the "clearest-souled of men". And every serious student of classical literature must have more than a mere surface knowledge of the Iliad and the Odyssey, and for this reason, if for no other, that without it he cannot read subsequent authors, whether Latin or Greek, to the best advantage. Let me mention one. The ancients styled Sophocles 'Homerikotatos', meaning that he was a devoted disciple of him whom they all revered as the Master. If you read his play in the great edition by Jebb, you will hardly find a column of notes in which the epics are not appealed to in confirmation or illustration.

We have in this University the Professor Campbell Memorial Medal, designed to commemorate a great Grecian and his work. When the first copy was presented to Professor Campbell himself, he observed in reply that the artist had drawn on it a strong and flourishing bay-tree, on the topmost bough of which a nightingale is singing. He prayed that the tree might never wither, and the bird never cease to find listeners here, for, he said, "they represent the perennial glory of Greek letters and their perennial charm". That glory and that charm are nowhere brighter and sweeter than in the music of him whom all the great writers of Greece and Rome were proud to acknowledge as "the Ionian Father of the rest", and the fairest ornament of the immortal literature of Greece. I say immortal, for, in Lowell's words, "Oblivion looks into the face of the Grecian Muse only to forget her errand".

St. Andrews, Scotland A. Shewan

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS
II

Open Court—April, Roman Tolerance Toward the Greek Language, A. Kampmeier.—June-July, Athenian Religious and Moral Training (Fifth Century B. C.), Fletcher H. Swift.—Sept., Ambrosia and Nectar, Peter J. Popoff [discusses several passages of the Iliad; "Eating and drinking are believed to be essential for life of all beings, be they gods or men"].

Philadelphia Public Ledger—July 5, Study of the Classics, William Howard Taft [an editorial, inspired by the Second Annual Meeting of the American Classical League, to be held next day; the subtitle of the editorial was "A Reaction Against the Modernists who Would Abolish Latin, Greek and Mathematics as Educational Requirements"].

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences—April, Anaximander's Book, The Earliest Known Geographical Treatise, W. A. Heidel.

Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute—Volume 47 (1921), 701–704, Thucydides and Sea Power, Captain J. M. Scammell, Infantry Reserve Corps, U. S. A. [the author quotes various speeches of Thucydides, including Pericles's Funeral Oration; he holds that they anticipate the doctrines of Captain Mahan, as to the influence of sea power on history, by two thousand years].

Pennsylvania, University of, Public Lectures At, Volume 7 (1919–1920, published in 1921)—Going to Church in Ancient Rome, George Depue Hadzsits.

Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature—Jan., Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne, Pierre de Labriolle, reviewed by Alfred Loisy; Études de Liturgie et d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Pierre Batifol, reviewed by Pierre de Labriolle.

Revue Des Deux Mondes—Feb. 15, La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique, IV, Constantine et le Triomphe du Christianisme, G. Ferrero.

Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement—March-April, Vers la Véritable Culture Classique [a discussion of classical education in France, with special reference to the plan of studies adopted in 1902].

Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue)—Dec. 18, 1920, L'Association Guillaume Budé, Lucien Maury [primarily an account of a new French series of classical texts, but also a strong defence of the Classics; the author, in fact, credits France's victory in the Great War to her classical education].

Romania—April-July, 1920, Notice sur le Manuscrit Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale No. 3718, Edmond Faral; under "Melanges", Influences Littéraires Antiques dans les Nom des Personnes, Ferdinand Lot [a brief note, suggesting the interesting possibilities of a chronological collection of names. For instance, if the sons of Ebles de Niort, at the end of the eleventh century, are called Jonas, Alexandre, and Achille, it is evident that their parents were interested in antiquity, both sacred and profane].

School and Society—April 23, The Price of a One-Language Policy, Irene Nye.—May 21, The Old Humanities and the New Sciences—A Review, John Boynton Kaiser [a notice of the address by Sir William Osler, which was abstracted, with comments, in The Classical Weekly 13.89–90].—Aug. 20, Science and Humanism, Grant Showerman.—Sept. 17, First-Year Latin and Growth in English Vocabulary, W. L. Carr.—Sept. 24, What is the Disciplinary Value of the Classics, Thaddeus L. Bolton.

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Printed by W. F. Humphrey, 300 Pulteney St., Geneva, N. Y.

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Organized in November, 1906
Membership April 11, 1921, 724
Dues - - - - - $2.00 per annum
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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York. N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorised on June 28, 1918.

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 12 MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1922 WHOLE NO. 408

ON MAKING NEW WORDS[1]

Words deliberately invented exhibit as different degrees of vitality as incubator chicks, many of them perishing at birth. An eccentric professor of Greek proposed and advocated through the press for some years the word *Usona*, made, to supply a much needed noun, from the initial letters of the name of the United States of North America. It has survived only to denominate a laundry, a bakery, and a hotel in his own city of St. Louis. From Missouri, and from a very small and obscure town at that, comes also the popular science of *osteopathy*, of which the name was chosen by the founder, Dr. A. T. Still, no longer ago than 1893. It does not owe its vogue to the support of the homeopaths or the allopaths, but seems to have taken its place, nevertheless, as one of the recognized routes to health or the grave, and a new word has become familiar to all.

Sometimes a new word comes into immediate vogue; at other times it is compelled to wait. The term *pragmatism* lay dormant in a magazine article for the space of a generation and was then swept into popularity on the reputation of a well-known philosopher. The fortune of the word *telegram* was different. It is said to have been made in Albany, in 1857, to take the place of the once prevalent 'telegraphic despatch'. Its success was immediate and well-merited. It is really one of the happiest coinages ever struck. It falls from a good Greek font, is not easily abbreviated, a thick tongue can pronounce it, and a dull ear can catch it. On the same model we have added *aerogram* and *lettergram* to our vocabulary, both of which are kept upon probation, although they are printed on the forms of the operating companies. The former ought strictly to be *aerotelegram*, but the need of brevity and the pull of a strong analogy evoked the shorter form. In the meantime we are saying 'wireless message'. A better chance of survival is in prospect for *lettergram*, which is recommended to the public ear not only by sound and analogy, but also by its obvious significance. A few years ago we were offered *marconigram* and *conigram*, but the prejudice against derivatives of proper names is obdurate.

Various are the names that have been invented for the ubiquitous moving-picture show, and most enlightening, from the point of view of the public taste and fancy, are the neologisms thus far created. The first name given to the world was *biograph*, faultlessly formed, but too sober, and it proved ephemeral. Since that time we have seen *vitagraphs* and *photoplays*, words of limited vogue, which appeal to an obvious preference for trisyllables accented on the first and the last syllable, of the type of *telegram*, *telephone*, and *photograph*. An effort after the selfexplanatory may be observed in *lifeorama*, but this is too cheap a hybrid even for the man in the street. One often sees the *nickelette* and the *nickelodium*, of which the one is cute and the other euphonious. The European term, *kinematograph*, which started from Paris, is unsatisfactory because it is not selfpronouncing in English. Those who speak by the card will say kinématograph, but the Concise Oxford Dictionary allows two other possibilities, and three pronunciations are too many for any word. This word is commonly clipped to *kinema*. A more pleasing word is *kinemacolor*, irregularly made, but selfpronouncing and selfexplanatory. In the meantime the American public says 'movies'.

The early displacement of *daguerreotype* by *photograph* suggests not less the mechanical and artistic advance than a growing reluctance to name discoveries by derivatives of proper names and a concomitant desire that new words shall be composed of significant parts. It likewise demonstrates the popularity attained during the middle of the past century by amphimacers of the type of *telegraph*. Even in days before the civil war a famous wit of New York, N. P. Willis, now almost forgotten, wrote newspaper sketches which he called *hurrygraphs*. Since those days we have produced a swarm of these trisyllabic *graphs*, such as *phonograph*, *dictograph*, *rotograph*, *stylograph*, and such journalese monsters as *dailygraph* and *fakeograph*, the latter denoting a lieing biography. A score of others, like *heliograph*, *lineograph*, and *ikonograph*, might be quoted merely to prove the hold of the *graph* syllable upon the imagination of the common people. Punch once offered its readers, not without a touch of classic satire, a *Philomelagraph*. The *phone* family, too, is popular and prolific. We now have *interphones* for the house, *otophones*, *auxetophones*, and *electrophones* for the deaf, and, as varieties of the good old talking-machine, *musophones*, *cortinaphones*, and plain *gramophones*. The latest we have seen is *marimbaphone*.

The popular mind has ready apprehension of the *cracies*, *ologies*, and *manias*, terminations that lend themselves easily to humorous and contemptuous effects. We recall an illiterate old cobbler with a

[1] Reference may be made to a collection of essays, by Professor Brander Matthews, entitled Essays on English (Scribner's, 1921). In the following essays, at least, the reader will find material akin to that brought together so interestingly by Professor DeWitt: Is the English Language Degenerating? (1-30); What is Pure English (33-57); The Vicissitudes of the Vocabulary (81-96); The Latest Novelties in Language (99-117); Newspaper English (121-135). Professor Matthews thinks highly of newspaper English.

C. K.

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penchant for politics who used to rail against *moneystocrats*. Any of us is apt to resort at times to words like *mobocracy* and *snobocracy*. College students are responsible for the term *cliquocracy*. Less venomous are the *ologies*. Temperance talk is *alcohology*. Disdain for the mushroom science of osteopathy is expressed by *spinology* and *bonology*. *Sumnerology* was a good-natured student-term to denote the courses of a famous Yale professor, himself a word-coiner who suggested *societology* for a branch of sociology. A certain University was swept by an attack of *Whitmania*, something akin to *Ibsenitis*, but more virulent. The American people have often been accused of *megalomania*, a gibe that Canadians can no longer afford to indulge. Emerson long ago detected in the traveling public of Boston an absurd *Italomania*. Those who become excited over the decline of Greek studies are *Graecomaniacs*. We have heard of an *egomaniac*, which must be something like a *superegotist*. Students of Nietsche may be warned against the fascination of *supermania*.

Suffixes derived from the Romance languages seem to be more seductive than the prosaic Latin or scientific Greek, and are much preferred in consequence by the purveyors of proprietary medicines and other articles of commerce that do not depend upon merit for their sale. As a business method this may be sound enough, but it works a sad effect upon the termination, divorcing it in the popular imagination from all the pretty effects which everyone must admire who has chanced to hear an Italian or a Spanish child talking to her doll. Most unfortunate among such endings have been *let* or *ette*, and *ine*, also spelt *ene* and *yne*. Butter that never was cream is *oleomargerine* or *butterine*. For your nails, use *ongoline*, for your nerves, *nervine*, and for your excess of person, *reducine*. *Nuttolene* is for the vegetarian, *lagerine* for the abstemious, *tuberculozyne* for the phthysical, and *disinfectine* for germophobes. The fact that *vaseline* is a protected trade-name has failed to keep it out of the most exclusive dictionaries, and whatever honor there may be in this is shared by *listerine*. Sadder still is the fate of *let*, which is degraded to the denotation of such fancy nostrums as *regulets* and *dyspeplets*, not to mention a score of others so well advertised that unpaid mention is superfluous. Something dainty is intended to be denoted by *toasterette* and *oysterette*, something devilish by *scooterette*, a sort of motor-car. There is derision in *suffragette*, the respectful term being *suffragist*.

The automatic piano-players and such like affect a soft, melodious terminal note, such as we hear in *pianola*, *victrola*, *autonola*, *phonola*, *amberola*, and *graphonola*. As this industry expands, we may expect to hear of *bannerolas*, *columbiolas*, *gloriolas*, and why not of *Melbiolas*, *Nordicolas*, *Carusiolas*, and, to be strictly up to date, *Carrilliolas*? Perhaps it will happen that a *tritonola* or a *sirenola* will be preferred. The unlettered instinct for word-making is not infallible and produces such disgusting misnomers as *pulvola* for the face, *dyola* for dyeing, and *figola* for eating. Setting aside such debasements of a euphonious suffix, contrast the dainty effect of the romantic *ola* with the sober Latin in *multimillionaire*, *multifunneled* steamers, *multigraph* copy-makers, *multitype* type-setting machine, and *multicone* fly-catchers (all of these are relatively new words). The Latin was a fine language in which to speak plainly.

Latin meets Latin in the rivalry between the forms *sanitarium* and *sanitorium*. An excellent reason for expecting the former to be preferred is the fact that our accepted adjective is *sanitary*, not *sanitory*. Yet it is hardly doubtful that the deciding factor in the ultimate choice will be the analogy of *auditorium*, a good Latin word as old as Quintilian, which has long since caught the public ear by its sonorousness and its agreeable accent. On the same model we have *crematorium*, which one is rather surprised to find in the Concise Oxford Dictionary. Still its lineage is so excellent that it deserves to mingle in good company. The preference of the unsophisticated word-maker is attested by such a coinage as *theatorium*. In many a city one may also behold a gorgeous swimming-establishment called a *natatorium*, and poor indeed is the town in these days that cannot boast a *suititorium* or a *pantitorium* where clothes are pressed while you wait. We have also seen a *pantorium*, but the analogy of *auditorium* calls for five syllables, and the reduplication is pleasant. The latest coinages of this type that we have noted are the *cancertorium*, which explains itself, and the *preventorium*, of which the purpose can easily be conjectured. The preference for double iambics combined with the pleasant reduplication of *t* has enabled *preventitive* to triumph over *preventive* in popular parlance and I have heard a paper-hanger venture upon *incentitive*.

The analogy of likes and opposites starts many a novelty in language. Mr. Chesterton, not very happily, has used *postjudice* as an antonym of *prejudice*. On the model of *maladministration* we have seen *malorganisation*. A striking example of association of ideas overruling formative analogy is *reportorial*, as an analogue of *editorial*. We should have expected *reporter* to give us *reporterial*, as *minister* gives *ministerial*, but the sonorous assonance of *reportorial* served to upset the law. On a similar analogy we might have *newspaporian*, of which we have noted a single occurrence. The introduction of gas for illuminating purposes displaced the *chandelier* by the *gasolier*, and this was succeeded by the *electrolier*. The good old *hippodrome* has been followed by the *motordrome*, the *aerodrome*, and the *photodrome*, the last being one of the numerous names for the moving-picture theater. In Paris they have *ratadromes*, where terriers make havoc among the rats, but the sport has hardly reached America, at least under this pompous name. Trade rivalry gives us such pairs as *congoleum* and *linoleum*, *antiphlogistine* and *antithermoline*. A curious error of etymology was committed by a Chicago man who started a *parvasine*, supposing such a form to be a correct antonym of *magazine*, which has nothing to do with the Latin. Some of these formations are unintentionally humor-

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ous, such as *contenderous*, from *cantankerous*. If the dentist who straightens teeth can enhance his dignity as an *orthodontist*, the brother who extracts them may ennoble himself as an *exodontist*. As Eve came from Adam's side, so the *superwoman* has been born of the *superman*.

It is curious to note that the living, Anglo-Saxon element in our speech, which contributes most of all to powerful stylistic effects, is moribund so far as the formation of new words is concerned, although it still continues to throw off such exquisitely expressive compounds as *wind-jammer*, *sky-scraper*, *brain-storm*, *hen-minded*, and *nature-faker*. Nevertheless it is the 'dead' Latin and Greek elements that are most fecund. When William Barnes, the Dorsetshire poet, proposed *folkwain* for *omnibus*, the public did not take him seriously. No better reception was accorded to the late Professor Sumner of Yale when he offered the name *folkways*, on the excellent analogy of *folklore*, to denote a certain branch of sociology. We are rejecting *airman* and *birdman* for *aviator*. We still prefer *gasoline* and *automobile*, while our English cousins use *petrol* and *motor-car*. The exactness of such terms as *monoplane* and *biplane* helps to retain *aeroplane* in place of *airship*, and *hydroplane* rather than *waterplane* or *seaplane*. The helplessness of the Anglo-Saxon is splendidly demonstrated if you attempt a pure English name for the amphibious *hydro-aeroplane*. Someone has proposed *aerobus* for *aero-omnibus*, but this lies yet in prospect. The *terraplane*, half motor-car and half aeroplane, is said to be an accomplished fact.

The journalese dialect is most prolific in new words, most of them as ephemeral as mosquitos. For all that, the daily newspaper is a mart where neologisms get their best chance of life, and, even if few individuals survive, one may yet perceive there the general drift of the language and the persistent efforts of our speech to procreate itself. Nor is the journalist to be despised as a critic of words. He reads and writes more than other people and is more regularly and incessantly forced to express himself. It is he that clips *pacificist* to *pacifist*, for example, breaking with a rule for the sake of euphony. He is less hampered by literary conventions and fearlessly tries out the verbs that come from nouns and adjectives. He gives us such forms as *visualize*, *socialize*, *institutionalize*, and even *affinitize*, novelties that are echoed in the pulpits of preachers who go beyond the Bible for their texts. Novels are *dramatized* and dramas are *novelized*. The moving-picture show *depersonalizes* the life of the town. To drive out and keep out the bubonic plague the Western seaports must be *deratized*, freed from rats, a word we might have been spared.

In making a survey of new words one must observe a number of conspicuous tendencies. The hybrid has little chance of survival, and so we do not expect the *watermobile* to survive very long. Classical suffixes attached to English words, such as *tinkeritis* and *talkophobia*, always are to be placed in the realm of *redogatory* remarks and will never see Parnassus. In this class we have lately noted *Tennysonunculus*, a satisfying mouthful. One notes also the great preference of suffixes over prefixes. It is for this reason that a word like *disservice* seems pedantic, although the *antis* are prevalent enough in such terms as *antioptionist*, opposed to local option, and *anticonscriptionist*, full of polysyllabic scorn. Unmistakable, too, is the hospitality towards words from Romance languages. The *cafeteria* has spread from Los Angeles as a center, although a Spanish lady was overheard to say that there was nothing Spanish about it except the mispronunciation. Lately a sister institution has sprung up in the *groceteria*, but would women ever frequent it were it called a *selfservegrocery*? It is the Latin element in English that is fertile and attractive.

It is but a mischievous convention of common thought that we say a language is living if it happens to be the daily medium of communication of an extant race. The real life of a language lies in its capacity to take care of itself under the changing conditions of contemporary life. Speech, as a function of a living organism, is subject to the same disintegration and replacement as the tissues of the body and the social institutions, and must possess the capacity of renewing its substance. Its life lies in its prefixes and its suffixes, in its capacity for forming compounds, or in whatever mutations and combinations the particular language may have inherited for the expression of new ideas. The Latin of Cicero died because it succeeded perfectly in cutting itself off from the speech of the people. He spake as never man spake. The vulgar Latin did not die. At least, if it died, it left heirs, and, as a Greek proverb says, he that leaves a son does not die.

VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO, CANADA NORMAN W. DEWITT

REVIEWS

The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin: The Sounds and Accents. By E. H. Sturtevant. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (1920). Pp. vii + 225.

Professor Sturtevant wrote his book with the intention of following the footsteps of Blass, Seelmann, and Lindsay in the light of the evidence which has been discovered since the appearance of their handbooks. He has been very successful in the thing he has attempted to do, and the result is a text-book more serviceable than its predecessors, for both student and teacher, and one that is, besides, a collection of the recent literature on the subject which will be appreciated by other workers in the field.

The improvement over Blass is to be found chiefly in the treatment of the digraph EI and kindred matters. It is due not to the discovery of new evidence, but to a sounder judgment of the old. Blass's error has long been recognized, but it has stood for years as a pedagogical nuisance, and it is a pleasure to have a handbook from which it is eliminated. On the other

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hand, the changes in our beliefs about the pronunciation of Latin necessitated by the new evidence are at the most minimal. For instance, Seelmann (1885) was inclined to assume a difference in quality between *a* and *ā*. Lindsay (1894) felt that the evidence was insufficient. Sommer (1914) and Professor Sturtevant now positively reject the assumption; but otherwise the vowel system is the same in all four authors. The progress here lies partly in details; the description of *l* given by Professor Sturtevant, for instance, is far superior to that of Lindsay. To take another example, we may note that Lindsay dated the confusion of *u*-consonant and *b* from the beginning of the second century A. D., while Professors Sommer and Sturtevant can now carry it back into the first century. In part also the progress lies in a better understanding of the reasons for our beliefs. One way in which this result is attained is the elimination of inconclusive argument—an important, if not obvious, matter. Sometimes one might wish that the author had gone farther in this direction: thus the assimilation (page 91) *im fronte* is no proof that *f* was bilabial; nor is the close of a Lucretian line, *siccare coepit* (page 60), any indication that *oe* was still a diphthong.

The thing in the book which seems to me most questionable is the treatment of the pronunciation of the mutes (91–101). This is largely reprinted from the author's article Tenuis and Media, in the Transactions of the American Philological Association 48.49–62 and turns on the idea that the Greek *mediae* were voiced *fortes*. Now it is doubtful whether "voiced *fortes*" in the sense necessary for the theory can be produced at all—voiced mutes are to a certain extent necessarily *lenes*, for reasons explained by Sievers, Grundzüge[5], § 362. It would therefore have been well for the author to designate in some Modern language the sort of sound he had in mind. Then it would have been possible to discuss whether the assumption of such a sound is warranted by the designation *mediae*. Too much stress is not to be laid on such a term; it may very well mean no more than that β is not π nor φ, but resembles both of them. The same may be said of Quintilian's statement about the sound for which Claudius invented his letter. His words, *medius est quidem u et i litterae sonus*, are definite, but it would be rash to infer that the sound was a high, mixed, rounded vowel. Professor Sturtevant seems to favor such an interpretation (29), but he should not then compare French *u* or German *ü* (these are front vowels).

The author may be congratulated on his success in doing the thing he has chosen to do, but there arises the question whether there was not better to be done. I should answer that question in the affirmative. Like his predecessors, the author begins with each letter and discusses how it was pronounced; the best procedure would have been to draw up a list of the sounds in use at each place and period in which he was interested, and then discuss the method of representing them in writing. The result would have been, in my opinion, much greater clarity. The author has also endeavored "to avoid technical terms and symbols as far as possible" and has been extremely successful in his effort. By many that will be counted to him as a merit, but I must regard it as a mistake. No user of a technical handbook has a right to expect that the subject shall be presented to him in a non-technical style; it is his duty to make the effort—in linguistics the difficulty is grossly overestimated—to familiarize himself with the technical terms and symbols needed. No other science would make such a concession, and it is in my opinion a mistake for the linguist to continue to do so. That is one of the reasons why an old delusion still persists and "jeder Mensch, weil er spricht, glaubt über die Sprache sprechen zu können".

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY GEORGE M. BOLLING

Kostes Palamas, Life Immovable. First Part. Translated by Aristides E. Phoutrides, with Introduction and Notes by the Translator. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1919). Pp. ix + 237. $2.00.

Professor Phoutrides is a Modern Greek poet of some fame himself, who is also a thorough student of Ancient Greek. He was a purist[1] in his younger days, when the Gospel Riots caused by Pallis's translation of the New Testament into the vernacular stained with blood the streets of Athens (1901). I well remember the great violence that took place, leading to the death of eight or nine students, and to the wounding of some sixty of those who had barricaded themselves in the University of Athens and had sallied forth from time to time to fight the soldiers sent against them. I even saw a soldier knocked from his horse by students throwing stones taken from a pile left in the street for paving purposes. The feeling ran so high that the Cabinet finally resigned, the Metropolitan abdicated and died in exile on Salamis, and the translation was withdrawn. But times changed, and, under the influence of Venizelos and other Greek patriots who believed that Greece could never progress with an artificial language, the Demoticists prevailed over the great Sophoclean scholar, Mistriotes, and his followers, and many important writers, such as Psicharis, Pallis, Soures, Karkavitsas, and especially Kostes Palamas, wrote great works in the vernacular. Professor Phoutrides, who in 1903 himself had been among the rioters against the performance of Soteriades's vernacular translation of the Oresteia of Aeschylus, soon afterwards joined the ranks of the Demoticists. Now he has given us a most interesting and faithful translation of the first half of Ἡ Ἀσάλευτη Ζωή of Palamas[2], whom Eugène Clement, in the Revue des Études Grecques, has dared to call, 'though not famous, incontestably

[1] On the contest between the puristic and the vernacular forms of Modern Greek see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.85.

[2] The translation of the adjective in this title by "Immovable" is unsatisfactory; the word means, rather something like 'Steadfast', 'Unwavering'. Compare Professor F. B. R. Hellem's, Classical Philology 15.208, in a review of this book (15.205–208) which gives several extracts from the translation; one of these is paralleled by the Greek stanzas.

the greatest not only of poets of modern Greece but of all poets of contemporary Europe'. In a beautifully written Introduction, Professor Phoutrides considers in detail the life and the life-influences of Palamas, and examines his writings, with frequent quotations from his poetical works[2].

Here is a sample (20) which will also help the student of the Classics to understand the application, in Ovid, Ars Amatoria 3.687, of the phrase *purpureos collis* to Hymettus and will give him the correct interpretation of the epithet ἰοστέφανοι, applied to Athens by Pindar in his famous couplet, which popular writers and books still attribute to Aristophanes (so Davis, A Day in Old Athens, last sentence; and Savel Zimand, in The Freeman, quoted in the Baltimore Sun, December 1, 1920, etc.):

The quiet, retired, and humble life of the Lagoon with its air filled with legend was suddenly exchanged for the shining rocks of Attica and its great city, flooded with dazzling light and roofed with a sky that keeps its azure even in the midst of night. Life here is full, restless, and tumultuous as in the days of Athens of old. The violet shadows of the mountains enclosing the silver olive groves of the white plain are still the makers of the violet crown of Athens.

The poet in one of his "Hundred Voices" pictures a clear Attic afternoon in February:

"Even in the winter's heart, the almonds are a-blossom!
And lo, the angry month is gay with sunshine laughter,
While to this beauty round about a crown you weave,
O naked rocks and painted mountain slopes of Athens.

Even the snow on Parnes seems like fields in bloom;
A timid greenish glow caresses like a dream
The Heights of Corydallus; white Pentele smiles upon
The Sacred Rock of Pallas; and old Hymettus stoops
To listen to the love-song of Phaleron's sea".

On page 79, in that part of Life Immovable which consists of twelve sonnets called Fatherlands, occur four stanzas which are worth quoting entire, not only for the two lines of the second stanza inspired by Pindar's famous adjective, but for its splendid description of Athens. It is also a typical bit of Palamas.

Sky everywhere; and sunbeams on all sides;
Something about like honey from Hymettus;
The lilies grow of marble witherless;
Pentele shines, birthgiver of Olympus.

The digging pick on Beauty stumbles still;
Cybele's womb bears gods instead of mortals;
And Athens bleeds with violet blood abundant
Each time the Afternoon's arrows pour on her.

The sacred olive keeps its shrines and fields;
And in the midst of crowds that slowly move
Like caterpillars on a flower white,
The people of the relics lives and reigns
Myriad-souled; and in the dust, the spirit
Glitters; I feel it battling in me with Darkness.

According to Professor Phoutrides, Palamas is a poet of great scholarship and learning. He is certainly familiar with Tolstoi, Goethe, Dante, Ibsen, Poe, Swinburne, Whitman, Rabelais, Hugo, Carlyle, and with the legends of all times and peoples (including Hindu and Serbian), as well as with modern national aspirations and the complex problems of the modern world. I have noticed echoes of Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, and of Alcaeus and "Sappho of the honeyed smile, the pure" (see page 148; also page 150, in A New Ode by the Old Alcaeus), but in general I find very few definite imitations of the ancient Greek poets. Palamas is indeed, I believe, a great modern poet of genuine power and value whose verse "fait battre le coeur". Says Professor Phoutrides (39–40):

There is hardly an important force in the world's thought and expression whether past or present to which Palamas is a stranger. The literatures of Europe, America, or Asia are an open book for him. The pulses of the world's artists, the intellectual battles of the philosophers, the fears and hopes of the social unrest, the religious emancipation of our day, the far reaching conflict of individual and state, in short, all events of importance in the social, political, spiritual, literary, and artistic life are familiar sources of inspiration for him.

Greek art has also inspired some of the lines, such as those on the famous mourning Athena relief, the only important one we have preserved from the transitional period of Greek art, often imitated today. These lines Professor Phoutrides translates as follows (98):

The Athena Relief

Why leanest thou on idle spear?
Why is thy dreadful helmet bent
Heavy upon thy breast, O virgin?
What sorrow is so great, O thought,

As to touch thee? Are there no more
Of thunder-bearing enemies
To yield the trophies new? No pomp
Athenian to guide thy ship

On to the sacred Rock? I see
Some pain holds Pallas fixed upon
A gravestone. Some great blow moves her:

Is it thy sacred city's loss,
Or seest thou all Greece—alas—
Of now and yesterday entombed?

The book brings a thrill to one who has spent many a year in Greece and it ought to interest classical students and literary men who have not been to Greece. One should study the whole history of Greece and her accomplishments from Homer to Palamas. Literature and art are not yet dead in the land where the mountains drip with purple blood, where the sea is a mantle of violet silk, where the people prefer dreams to realities and still converse with nymphs. In the living traditions and even in the people's language, which Palamas calls a 'thrice

[2] Of Patras, where he was born over sixty years ago, Palamas wrote a description, part of Life Immovable, which is quoted, with Professor Phoutrides's translation, by Professor Hellems, in Classical Philology 15.207–208.

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noble fairy, born of sunlight and crowned with stars', there is still some faint echo of the old love of beauty as an essential and practical thing, and not as something extra, which is the real secret of the superiority of ancient Greece to all succeeding peoples in literature and art. We owe a great debt to Professor Phoutrides for his fine poetical translation, which one reviewer, a professor of ancient Greek somewhat prejudiced against the Modern Greek language, says is superior to the original. In this volume we have only the First Half of Life Immovable (The Fatherlands, The Return, Fragments from the Song to the Sun, Verses of a Familiar Tune, The Palm Tree). Let us hope that Professor Phoutrides will soon issue the Second Half; and, as he is a poet himself as well as a scholar,—may he give us some day also versions of the best of the other Modern Greek poets.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY DAVID M. ROBINSON

Greek Life. Bibliography and Review Questions. New and Revised Edition. By F. W. Tilden. Bloomington, Indiana: University Book Store (1920).

This pamphlet contains comprehensive and helpful lists of books devoted to Greek Antiquities, Travel, Geography, Topography, Art, Archaeology, and Architecture. Review Questions on the Greek World, Ancient and Modern, and Greek Private Life, and Subjects for Themes are included. The titles here assembled should be of service to students and teachers of Greek life.

BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LARUE VAN HOOK

Greek Literature in English. Bibliography, Questions on Prescribed Reading, Review Questions. By F. W. Tilden. New and Revised Edition. Bloomington, Indiana: University Book Store (1920).

In the first part of this little pamphlet the author gives bibliographies for works on Greek literature in general and also for some special periods and authors. The lists are good, on the whole, and the best books are generally given, so that the teacher who is giving a course in Greek Literature in English will find the bibliographies of convenience for himself and his students. The method followed by the compiler, however, seems to have been to make a list merely of the books pertaining to Greek literature which are found in the Indiana University Library (as a shelf number in parenthesis following each book indicates). In consequence, considerable out-of-date material is included, some recent books are missing, and late and revised editions of standard works are not always given. So e. g. only the *third* edition (1898) of Christ's Griechische Litteraturgeschichte is cited. The complete omission of Lucian in such a course seems strange, indeed.

The second part of the pamphlet is devoted to Questions on the Prescribed Reading. These questions, generally speaking, seem altogether too detailed and often quite unimportant. They are concerned too much with the business of extracting the mere story from the student and not enough with the real meaning, ideas, and literary values of the masterpiece which has been read. General Review questions conclude the pamphlet.

For a new and revised edition the text is regrettably full of misprints. Misspellings of proper names are very numerous.

BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LARUE VAN HOOK

Concise Latin Grammar. By Benjamin L. D'Ooge. Boston: Ginn and Company (1921). Pp. xviii-410.

The announcement of a new work by Professor D'Ooge evokes the eager interest of practical teachers, because his name gives full confidence of sound scholarship, freedom from irritating individualism, and pedagogic worth. This new Latin Grammar is a welcome addition to the list of works associated with his name, and is not inferior, in these good qualities, to its predecessors.

Simplicity has been an especial aim in the preparation of this Grammar, but it has not been obtained by arbitrary or ill-guided selection. In accord with modern tendencies, a rather full account of word-formation is given (§§ 281–294). We no e also a very short treatment of ablaut (56–57). The order of words, on the other hand, is discussed with unusual fulness and detail, and the rules are based on the most recent investigations (910–949).

Professor D'Ooge's thorough modernity, without radicalism, is illustrated in the nomenclature. As stated in the Preface (iii), "a conservative attitude has been taken, but such of the new terms have been adopted as seem likely to win general acceptance".

In several points, this book is more advanced than some of the larger Grammars. It is a pleasure to see the perfect passive participle given as the fourth principal part (212). The ablative of attendant circumstance and the ablative of accordance are recognized (457–458).

A partial correction is made of the perfect active subjunctive forms of the second person singular and first and second person plural, but unhappily only partial, for the mood-sign is marked as common in quantity (230, C, N.1, 234, A, 241, etc.). It is indisputably certain that the Romans themselves fairly often confused the forms of the perfect subjunctive and the future perfect indicative active. Yet in the subjunctive the correct quantity is long, in the indicative short. The Romans erred in each direction. If their aberration is to be recognized by the mark of quantitative uncertainty in the subjunctive, it should be similarly recognized in the indicative. Very few classes will say, very few teachers will even desire to have their classes say, '*rexerimus* or *rexerimus*, *rexeritis* or *rexeritis*'. The result will surely be that teachers who have themselves learned these forms incorrectly will permit, or direct, their classes to disregard the correct quantity. Thus the erroneous tradition will be perpetuated.

The treatment of the gerund and the gerundive is especially notable, as a model of clearness and conciseness, with sufficiently full practical directions (870–880).

In only one place do we observe a lack of clearness. In the treatment of indirect discourse, we read (887, I), "Principal clauses, when *declarative*, change the indicative to the infinitive with subject accusative". If the observant pupil ask, 'What if the verb was not indicative?', he will find no answer. Five pages further (page 332), under the special head of "Conditional Sentences in Indirect Discourse", the necessary rules are given. Nothing is finally omitted. But a simple note of reference, under the first statement, to the other would, we believe, be desirable for pupils using the book without the presence of a teacher.

Although this Grammar is intended to be "of equal service to the high-school pupil and to the college

undergraduate" (Preface, iii), it is obviously expected that either the College instructor or the College text-book will supplement it at some points. This is avowed in the case of the prosody, for, as declared in the Preface (iii-iv), only the meters used by Vergil and Ovid have been explained, on the ground that College text-books dealing with the lyric and the dramatic poets regularly explain their meters. The early Latin use of *cum* with the indicative, where Golden Latin employed the subjunctive, receives only a mention, so far as concerns *cum*-causal clauses (754, Note 2); of the late use of temporal conjunctions with the subjunctive in iterative sense, we do not find even mention, but at most only implication.

We do not believe that this Grammar will supersede Allen and Greenough, nor that it ought to. But pressure is a manifest fact in the work of the Latin teacher in many a School and College. For a statement of the 'minimum essentials', not as held by our rivals and opponents, but as practical Latinists will admit them, this book, in our judgment, is unsurpassed. Where Allen and Greenough is deemed too full, or too detailed, or too philological, the Concise Latin Grammar can be cordially recommended. We should prefer it, under these circumstances, to any other. That it will need a small amount of supplementing for College work is true. We should wish the College student to possess a fuller Grammar. Nevertheless, this Grammar can be used with satisfaction by the ordinary College student.

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HENRY S. DAWSON

TRANSLATIONS OF ARISTOTLE'S POETICS

In a notice of Professor Gilbert Murray's Preface to Ingram Bywater's translation of the Poetics of Aristotle, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15. 39-40, Professor Knapp was good enough to mention my Amplified Version of the treatise. My book is no longer published by Messrs. Ginn and Company, but has a new lease of life through Messrs. Harcourt, Brace, and Company.

As it seems to me, Professor Murray overstates the difficulty of translating the Poetics—that is, once we know in a given case precisely what Aristotle means, and when we can be sure whether he is using a term like 'prologue' or 'discovery' or 'myth' in a loose and general, or in a stricter and more technical, sense. Bywater himself says (Aristotle on the Art of Poetry, viii), "The book, taken as it is, with perhaps an occasional side-light from some of his other works, is intelligible enough".

I agree, then, that sometimes, as Professor Murray says, "we must not attempt to draw very closely to the meanings of Greek words"; and I disagree by adding that, when we render the Poetics of Aristotle into a modern language, we must sometimes draw as closely to them as we can. Dr. Gudeman, in his German translation of the Poetics (Leipzig, Meiner, 1921), is often surprisingly true to the Greek with no sacrifice of the modern idiom; I heartily recommend this translation to the few Americans who occupy themselves in a scholarly way with the Poetics. And they may study with profit Dr. Gudeman's article, Die Syrisch-Arabische Uebersetzung der Aristotelischen Poetik, in Philologus 76 (1920), 239-265. Here, and not in Professor Murray's Preface, is the newest light on Aristotle's theory of poetry. More light from the same source may be expected in the edition of the Poetics that Dr. Gudeman, in his translation, announces.

To return to Professor Murray, how can one say that in Aristotle's day "the only living form of drama was the New Comedy"? Aristotle was born B. C. 384. According to Professor R. G. Kent, in The Classical Review 20 (1906), 153-155, Aristophanes died B. C. 375 or later (when Aristotle was a boy nine or ten years old); his fame, however, did not die then. In B. C. 340-339, when Aristotle was at the height of his powers, there is indication of a revival of the earlier comedy on the Athenian stage (compare the inscription in Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen, edited by Adolf Wilhelm, page 27). Probabilities favor the notion that at least one play of Aristophanes was thus revived. In the Didascaliae, Aristotle seems to have been preoccupied, as far as comedies are concerned, with the period of Aristophanes. And whenever his Poetics was written, as may be seen from the conjoint allusion there to Sophocles, Homer, and Aristophanes, the last-named was then regarded as the supreme figure among comic poets.

If there was any period of 'Middle' Comedy, Aristotle lived through that. But, Meineke and others to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no real evidence that his favorite among comic poets was Anaxandrides; I have gathered all the evidence, as I believe, on this and related points, and have reason to hope that my article on the subject will soon appear. Did the comic poet Anaxandrides produce a more living form of the drama than the tragic poet Theodectes, Aristotle's own pupil?

And what of the 'New' Comedy in our sense? Philemon began to exhibit plays at Athens about B. C. 330, and Menander in B. C. 322-321, a year or so after Aristotle left the city—doubtless after his death. It is reasonable to suppose that Aristotle had formed his notions of literary art before 330, and very unreasonable to think that he was influenced by the stripling Menander. He may very well have known Menander, who was a pupil of Aristotle's friend and pupil Theophrastus; and Menander may have learned something from the Poetics.

Is there no presumption in saying that Aristotle "misunderstands" the word *muthos*? I have seen it stated that in his day *muthos* was used for 'plot' in tragedy, and *logos* for 'plot' in comedy. He himself, when mentioning Crates's success in constructing comic plots, says that Crates made '*muthoi* and *logoi*'. Aristophanes uses *logos* to describe the substance of a comedy —and the comic poet Antiphanes, contemporary with Aristotle, applies *logos* to the tragic story of Oedipus or Alcmeon! We know too little of the terms used in Greek treatises on literary art and the like to assume that Aristotle misunderstood them; in the Poetics he refers perhaps thirteen times to other authorities or technical works in the same field. He seems to have been reasonably well-acquainted with what others had said and written on the subject; we can not be.

The utility of the Poetics to the student of modern literature is a subject too large and varied for discussion here. I have dealt with the question in my 'amplified' rendering. But on this point again, Professor Murray seems to be at odds with Bywater, who says that Aristotle "tells one, in fact, how to construct a good play and a good epic, just as in the Rhetoric he tells one how to make a good speech. And in so doing, he has succeeded in formulating once for all the first great principles of dramatic art, the canons of dramatic logic which even the most adventurous of modern dramatists can only at his peril forget or set at naught".

Let me add the following from Alfred Croiset (A. and M. Croiset, Histoire de la Litérature Grecque 4. 739-740: 'Of late, certain scholars, perhaps through a natural reaction against the former idolatry long accorded to the Poetics, have seemed to take pleasure in depreciating the work. This new exaggeration is not more reasonable than the other. The Poetics is a masterpiece, in which the fundamental traits of Greek

poetry, considered in its evolution as well as in its essence, are noted with a precision that gives the work a value well-nigh eternal'.

Cornell University LANE COOPER

MATERIAL RELATING TO CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA

In The Classical Weekly 14.152, in the account of a meeting of The New York Classical Club, reference was made to an address by Dr. W. B. Dinsmoor, of Columbia University, on The Inheritance of American Art from Classic Greece. Unfortunately, the paper has not been printed.

In The American Historical Review 27.47–57 (October, 1921), there is an article entitled Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic, by Professor Fiske Kimball, of the University of Virginia. On pages 56–57 there is a reference, all too brief, to the classical revival in architecture in the early days of the American Republic. Professor Kimball, however, states that he has discussed in detail the "origin and antecedents of American classic buildings", in his books, Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classic Revival in America (published apparently in 1915: see especially page 48), and Thomas Jefferson, Architect (see in particular page 42), and in his article, The Bank of Pennsylvania, which appeared in the Architectural Record 44 (1918: see especially pages 135–137).

C. K.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

Fellowships in School of Classical Studies

The American Academy in Rome announces its annual competitions for the Fellowships in Classical Studies. There is one Fellowship of the value of $1,000 for one year, and one of the value of $1,000 a year for two years. Residence at the Academy is provided free of charge, and board is furnished at cost. There is opportunity for travel in Italy and Greece. The awards are made after competitions, which are open to unmarried men and women, citizens of the United States. Entries will be received until March 1. Competitors must submit evidence of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history and archaeology, and must prove their ability to use German and French. They must also present published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome. Fellows will be selected without examination other than the submission of the required papers. For application blanks and detailed circulars of information apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

ROSCOE GUERNSEY

CLASSICAL CLUB OF GREATER BOSTON

The first winter meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Boston was held at the Girls' Latin School, on Saturday, December 10. Mr. Walter V. McDuffee, of the Central High School, Springfield, spoke on The Survey of the Classical Field, explaining in detail the investigation now being made by Dr. Gray and Professor Carr. Mr. Willard Reed, the retiring President, presented the report on the Questionnaire, sent out by the Executive Committee, on Continuation Reading. It was encouraging to know that the members of the Club had read so much since graduation from College. Vergil and Homer were the authors read by the greatest number; Horace, Sophocles, and Aeschylus came next. It was voted to appoint a committee of three to arrange for general reading in Classics by the Club.

The following officers were elected; President, Professor A. H. Rice, Boston University; Vice-Presidents, Dr. Fred B. Lund, Professor R. K. Hack, of Harvard University, and Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, President of Wellesley College; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury High School; Treasurer, Thorton Jenkins, Head Master, Malden High School; Censor, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School.

ALBERT S. PERKINS, *Censor*

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The Classical Forum

The Classical Forum, which is held under the auspices of The New York Classical Club, met on Saturday morning, December 10, at Barnard College. The topic announced for discussion was, Minimal Essentials in Latin, with especial reference to the tentative list of Objectives in the Teaching of Latin recently sent out by the American Classical League (see The Classical Journal 17.22–25). The Chairman, Dr. Barclay W. Bradley, opened the meeting with an address in which he classified these Objectives, and commented briefly on each, in regard to its value as primary or as secondary, its feasibility under the present New York State Syllabus in Latin, and its relation to modern psychological views. Where his comments were adverse, Dr. Barclay spoke, he declared, as Devil's Advocate, voicing possible attacks by unfriendly critics.

In the general discussion reference was made to the peculiar problem which must be faced by teachers of Latin in the High Schools of New York City—how to coordinate the objectives of the student who is studying Latin for one or two years only before going to work with those of the student who is going on to College. There was informal, but emphatic, expression of opinion from several School representatives in favor of the Regents's Examinations.

Finally, it was voted that a Committee of the Club be appointed to ascertain the views of the members on the proposed Objectives, referred to above, and to formulate, in a definite statement, the opinion of the Club regarding aims in the teaching of Latin.

MARGARET Y. HENRY, *Censor*

ONE TEACHER'S SUGGESTION TO FELLOW-TEACHERS

A very devoted and enthusiastic teacher of the Classics writes to me as follows: "What Secondary School teachers need to have hammered into them more than anything else is that they are not teaching translation and that they ought to teach translation. If you will forgive my lifting my eye so high, I venture to say that what College professors need to have hammered into them is that they are not teaching literature and that they ought to teach literature. They are teaching philology (most of them), which is just twenty years beyond the interests of their students. And among us all we are killing pleasure in the reading of Latin".

C. K.

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, NO. 18 MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1922 WHOLE NO. 414

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, No. 13 MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1922 WHOLE NO. 409

MOVING PICTURES AMONG THE ROMANS[1]

To a populace that found its pastime in the spectacular and brutal scenes of the amphitheater, the thrilling incidents of its history and of its stock of mythology could, without suffering in comparison with the gladiatorial combats and animal fights, be presented in pantomime or in reality by the ingenious Roman. Besides having at his disposal many underground passages and openings therefrom into the arena by means of which the whole scene could be changed in a moment, he had trained slaves under whose skilful hands elaborate stage-machinery was moved rapidly and systematically.

In the Middle Ages the Christian Church, to inculcate instruction, rendered in pantomime or in dramatic form various Biblical incidents and scenes from the lives of the Saints. Quite naturally, however, these representations did not retain their original simplicity, but developed into the spectacular Miracle and Morality plays. The Roman did not view the scenes from mythology as a means of imparting religious or moral instruction; he had, rather, an insatiate desire to see the abnormal and the terrible. The rabble at Rome was simply human and, like any mob, delighted in that which was unusual.

Such representations of the gods and heroes did not fail to evoke the disapproval and the disgust of the Christian writer Tertullian, who, in his Apology, Chapter 15, gives a short account of the sights to be seen in the Roman amphitheater:

'The rest of your ingenious amusements minister to your pleasures through the dishonor of your gods. Reflect upon the choice farces of your Lentuli and your Hostilii, considering whether in your jokes and your artifices you laugh at the mimes or at your gods: the lewd Anubis, the male Luna, the scourged Diana, the recital of the will of the deceased Jupiter and the three famished Herculeses held up to derision. But also the literature of the stage depicts the foulness of the gods. The Sun to your joy mourns for his boy who has been hurled from the sky, and Cybele sighs for the disdainful shepherd without a blush creeping over your faces. You also suffer the criminal record of Jupiter to be sung, and Juno, Venus, and Minerva to be judged by a shepherd. What have you to say of this, that a likeness of your god covers an ignominious and infamous head; that a body impure and by emasculation prepared for that purpose represents a certain Minerva or Hercules? Is not their majesty violated and their divinity prostituted while you applaud? You clearly are more religious in the theater where your gods dance over human blood and over the filth resulting from conflicts, thereby affording the criminals plain facts and narratives—except that your very gods are often impersonated by malefactors. Once we saw the mutilation of Atys, that well known god from Pessinus, and one who was burning alive posed as Hercules. And in the midst of the cruel shows of the noon-day gladiators, we laughed at Mercury examining the dead with a cautery. We also see the brother of Jupiter, with a hammer in his hand, dragging out the corpses of the gladiators. But who can go through all your farces up to date one by one? If they destroy the honor of the gods, if they obliterate the traces of their majesty, such burlesques find their origin surely in the contempt in which the gods are held by those who perform them and by those for whose amusement they are performed'.

Condemned criminals had to be disposed of, and, if Rome was going to have capital punishment, why not execute the culprits in the arena and thus give public amusement? In this way they could be forced to act various parts of Greek and Roman mythology, and, in playing some of the most beautiful and pathetic rôles, they suffered the most dreadful penalties.

Besides reading in Tertullian about the rôle of Heracles, we note in one of the Greek epigrams the following about a certain Meniscus, who, in playing the part of the Grecian Samson on Mount Oeta, was burned to death (Jacobs, Anthologia Palatina 11.184):

'As Heracles of yore, so did Meniscus take the golden apples from the Hesperides of Zeus. And what happened? As he was apprehended, there appeared to all a great spectacle, how Heracles of old was burned to death'.

Plutarch, De Sera Numinis Vindicta 9, incidentally mentioning the stage, says:

'However, there are some people that differ not at all from children, who, many times beholding malefactors upon the stage in their gilded vestments and short purple cloaks as they dance with crowns upon their heads, admire and look upon them as the happiest people in the world till they see them gored and lashed, and mark flames of fire curling from underneath their sumptuous and gaudy garments'.

Neither author mentions these things as having actually happened at Rome, but we can hardly suppose that the capital would have been outdone by any city in the provinces.

It seems that showy apparel was frequently seen in the arena. When Perpetua and Felicitas[2] with some of their friends were taken into the amphitheatre at Carthage, in 203 A. D., the tribune threatened to clothe the men as priests of Saturn and the women as

[1] I wish to emphasize the caveat in Dr. Gehman's concluding paragraph. I have read something on the Inquisition, and I have seen, in the Tower of London, the implements once used by our British cousins to bring recalcitrants over to their way of thinking. We have long known, unhappily, that, at times, both ancient and modern man has been demoniacally cruel; this paper is printed not to prove that again, but to illustrate Roman ingenuity—ghastly ingenuity, indeed, but ingenuity nevertheless. C. K.

[2] Passio Sanctae Perpetuae 18.

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priestesses of the same god, the color of whose vestments, as Tertullian tells us (De Testimonio Animae 2; De Pallio 4), was purple and scarlet. Christian convicts sometimes were forced to represent some mythological character or to engage in some idolatrous ceremony. Thus Clement, in his Epistle to the Corinthians 6, speaks of Christian women who played the parts of Danaids or of Dirce in the arena. In the Acts of Theodotus (Ruinart, page 301) we have a case of persons who were made priests of Diana and Minerva.

Apuleius gives a rather full account of a mythological performance in the amphitheater. In his Metamorphoses 10.19, he tells us that a certain Lucius, who had been transformed into an ass, and his owner, Thiasus, came to Corinth, where the latter put Lucius on private exhibition, and charged a good admission. Finally, Thiasus arranged to exhibit Lucius, in a certain way, in public, at the games.

Making allowance for the exaggeration and the imagery of a vile-minded writer, let us quote the experience of Lucius as told by Apuleius, beginning with 10.29, in medio:

'And now, behold, the day destined for the show came; and amid the shouts of applause, as a long train escorted me, I was led to the amphitheater. During the first part of the performance, which was devoted to the joyous choral dances of the players, I was placed outside the gate and was glad to crop some fresh grass which grew just at the entrance, while I every now and then delighted my curious eyes with a most agreeable view of the spectacle through the open gate.

Beautiful boys and maidens, in the bloom of youth, splendidly dressed, moved with great elegance of gesture through the graceful evolutions of the Greek Pyrrhic dance. Now they revolved in a circle; now they deployed into an oblique line, with hands joined; at times they formed a wedgelike figure enclosing an open square; then they parted into two troops and went through a variety of intricate movements till they ceased at the sound of the trumpet. Then the screen was lowered, the hangings were drawn aside, and a dramatic scene was exhibited.

There was a wooden structure formed in imitation of that celebrated mountain Ida of which the poet Homer has sung. It was a fabric of considerable height, covered with turf and growing trees up to the very top, whence, by the contrivance of the artist, a fountain was made to flow and pour down a stream of water. A few goats cropped the grass, and a young man handsomely arrayed in barbaric vestments and having his head covered with a golden tiara, in resemblance of Paris, the Phrygian shepherd, appeared to be employed in pastoral pursuits. A beautiful boy then came forward, his only garment being the mantle generally worn by striplings, which covered his left shoulder. His beautiful yellow hair flowed loosely, and from the midst of it issued a pair of little golden wings; these and the caduceus he carried showed him to be Mercury. He danced forward, holding in his hand a golden apple which he presented to the performer who personated Paris; he made known to him by signs what Jove commanded, and gracefully retired. A girl of noble features, who represented the goddess Juno, then made her appearance; her head was surrounded with a white diadem, and she bore a scepter in her hand. Another then entered who could easily be recognized as Minerva, having on her head a shining helmet encircled with a wreath of olive. She raised her shield aloft and brandished her spear as that goddess does when she is engaged in battle. After these came another female of surpassing beauty; the loveliness of her divine complexion declared her to be Venus, and Venus such as she was while yet a virgin. Her perfect form was nude, all but some charms imperfectly concealed by a gauze scarf with which the wind played amorously, sometimes uncovering the beauties beneath it, sometimes pressing it against the limbs and displaying their delicious contour. The goddess appeared in two different colors; her body was dazzlingly white, because she had descended from the heavens, while her silken garment was azure because she had emerged from the sea.

The virgins who represented the goddesses were accompanied by their respective attendants. With Juno came two young players representing Castor and Pollux, whose heads were covered with helmets of semioval form graced with a cluster of stars. She advanced, with a calm and unaffected air, to the warbling of the flute, and promised to the shepherd, with modest gestures, that she would bestow on him the rule of all Asia, if he adjudged to her the prize of beauty.

She who impersonated Minerva was attended by two armed youths, Terror and Fear, who danced before her with drawn swords. Behind her a piper played a martial air, mingling shrill and deep-braying tones, and excited the agility of the dancers as with the blast of the trumpet. With restless head and threatening glances, Pallas bounded forward and with animated gestures signified to Paris that, if he pronounced her victorious in the contest of beauty, she would render him illustrious for his valor and his achievements in war.

Greeted with vast applause from the spectators, Venus advanced with a sweet smile and stood still in a graceful attitude in the middle of the stage, surrounded by a throng of merry little boys, such plump, round-limbed, fairskinned little fellows, you would have sworn that they were real Cupids who had just flown from heaven or from the sea; for they had little wings and arrows and all other accouterments conformable, and they carried glowing torches before their mistress, as if to light her way to a nuptial banquet. She had also in her train a lovely choir of virgins, the charming Graces and the Hours, who strewed the path of their goddess with loose flowers and bouquets and propitiated the queen of pleasure with the pleasant offerings of the spring.

Presently the flutes began to breathe soft Lydian airs that thrilled the audience with delight; but greater still was their pleasure when Venus began to move in concert with the music and with slow lingering steps and gentle sinuous flexure of the spine and head and graceful movements of the arms to respond to the soft modulations of the flutes; now her eyes swam with voluptuous languor, now they flashed with the ardor of passion; sometimes she seemed to dance with the eyes alone. As soon as she had approached close to the judge, she was understood to promise, by the movements of her arms, that, if she should be preferred to the other goddesses, she would bestow on Paris a wife surpassing all other women in beauty, in a word, one like herself. Gladly then did the young Phrygian deliver to her, as a token of her victory, the golden apple he held in his hand . . . . After that judgment of Paris was finished, Juno and Minerva retired from the stage in sorrow and anger, and showed by their gestures the indignation they felt at being rejected; but Venus, full of joy and merriment, testified her gladness by dancing with all her choir. Then wine mixed with saffron burst from the summit of the mountain through a pipe that lay concealed, and, flowing in scattered streams, besprinkled, as it fell, with an odoriferous shower the goats that fed around and changed their

native whiteness to a more beautiful yellow tint. And now as the theater was exhaling a sweet odor, a chasm of the earth absorbed the wooden mountain.

One of the soldiers now ran down the street to fulfill the demands of the people and bring from the public prison the woman before mentioned, who, as I have stated, was condemned to the wild beasts on account of her manifold crimes, and was destined to be my illustrious bride. What was intended also to be our resting-place was already prepared. It was brilliantly adorned with the Indian tortoise-shell, swelling with feathery heaps, and decorated with a silken coverlet. As for me, besides the shame of being thus publicly exhibited and besides the contact of that wicked and polluted woman, I was also in the highest degree tormented with the fear of death; for it struck me that, if during the progress of the play any wild beast should be let in on purpose to destroy the woman, it would not be so remarkably well trained or sagacious or so temperate and abstemious as to tear to pieces the woman who was at my side and spare me as being uncondemned and guilty of no crime.

I was alarmed, therefore, not on grounds of delicacy alone, but also on account of my life. While my master was intent on preparing for the representation and some of the servants were engaged in getting ready for the spectacle of hunting and others in gazing at the grandeur of the show, I, since no one thought that so tame an ass required to be so very attentively watched, so that I was free to follow my own devices, little by little stole away softly and quietly.

Turning from this fictitious account of a pantomime which probably had some basis of fact, we pass to Martial and Suetonius. When Nero gave his games in the wooden amphitheater in the region of the Campus Martius, no one was killed, not even any of the criminals. Then the incident of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos, was rendered so realistically that many of the spectators believed that she was actually covered by a bull as she was hidden in a wooden frame resembling a heifer (Suetonius, Nero 12). Martial, De Spectaculis 5, tells us that Domitian also represented in the amphitheater the connection between Pasiphae and the Cretan bull.

Friedländer, in his note to Martial, De Spectaculis 8, thinks that probably Domitian's scene of Pasiphae was followed by that of Daedalus. How the whole performance was enacted, we do not know, although we may presume that it was rendered with such realism that the spectators could understand it. Possibly, however, to introduce blood, Daedalus did not escape with his wings. Martial thus taunts the unfortunate man (De Spectaculis 8): 'Daedalus, being thus mangled by the Lucanian bear, how you could wish that you had your wings with you now!'.

With Daedalus we associate his unfortunate son Icarus, and, at the games of Nero mentioned above, we find that the latter's rôle was represented. The actor, however, was unfortunate, and, in his first attempt at flight, fell down near the Emperor's seat and sprinkled his Highness with blood (Suetonius, Nero 12).

The epigrammatist tells us that under Domitian the Romans were favored with a scenic representation of Orpheus. We may suppose that the joys of the bard and Eurydice were depicted in all splendor until she died and went to the lower world. Orpheus followed his wife to reclaim her, but he came back without her, as Martial, De Spectaculis 21 b, narrates: 'Are we surprised that the earth yawned suddenly to send out Orpheus? He came from his Eurydice who had been compelled to return to the depths'. While he was on earth, all nature was enchanted by the music of Orpheus, and elaborate stage-machinery was required to execute the scene depicted by Martial, De Spectaculis 21:

'Whatever Rhodope is said to have beheld in the theater of Orpheus, Caesar, the arena has displayed to you. Rocks crept along, and a forest, as wonderful as is believed to have been the grove of the Hesperides, moved rapidly. Every species of wild animals was present, mixed with the domestic animals, and many a bird hovered over the bard. But he himself lay prostrate, mangled by an ingrate bear. Only this part of the action was done contrary to the story'.

Although the splendor of the scene was fascinating, a mob that loved excitement could not fail to be thankful to the ingrate bear that gave the story such an unexpected turn.

Again, changes were made in the mythology without involving the death of the actor. For instance, Martial, De Spectaculis 16, tells us of a bull that bore Hercules to the sky:

'It was not a contrivance of art, but rather of piety that the bull, snatched up from the middle of the arena, departed to the skies. The bull once bore Europe over his brother's seas, but now a bull has borne Hercules to the stars. Compare, Fame, the bullocks of Caesar and Jupiter. Granted that they bore an equal burden, <the Emperor's> bore it the higher'.

It is probable that, in 1.6. 1–2, Martial refers to a scene in the arena showing Ganymede being carried away by an eagle. What part the boys played who were lifted up to the awning by machinery, as Juvenal notes (4.122), we do not know. It is possible that they assumed the characters of Cupids or of Icarus.

The great bandit Laureolus, it seems, appealed vividly to the Roman imagination. On the day before the murder of Caligula, there was a pantomimic performance of the crucifixion of this freebooter, and as a great deal of fictitious blood was shed around Laureolus and Cinyras (a character in a play following the crucifixion), the event was considered a prodigy (compare Josephus, Antiquites of the Jews 19.1. 13, Suetonius, Calgula 57). From the numerous references to Laureolus, we may assume that the incident was reproduced quite frequently. Juvenal (8. 187) mentions a certain nobleman, Lentulus, who acted Laureolus, and so for imitating a slave's rôle deserved to be crucified in reality. Tertullian (Adversus Valentianos 14) also refers to the affair of the famous robber. Martial, De Spectaculis 7, gives a very graphic description of the occurrence as it was presented in the time of Domitian:

'Just as Prometheus, bound to the Scythian crag, fed the bird that never left him with the flesh of his breast that was ever in excess, so a Laureolus hung on a real cross and offered his vitals to the Caledonian

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bear. He was still alive though his joints were torn, while his members were dripping with blood, and in his whole body there was nowhere any semblance of a body. At length he received the punishment he deserved. He had been guilty of piercing with his sword a parent's, or, if you will, a master's throat, or in his madness plundered temples of their hidden gold, or to thee, Rome, applied fell torches. The polluted wretch has outdone the crimes of ancient story, and for him a punishment of fable became reality'.

Besides having pantomimic representations of robbers, we have an instance where the brigand himself paid the penalty. Strabo informs us (6.2.6) of a certain Selurus, known as the Son of Aetna, who had for a long time committed his depredations in Sicily, and, being eventually captured, was sent to Rome. The geographer himself saw the execution, which took place in connection with some gladiatorial combats in the forum. As though he were standing on his native Aetna, the bandit was placed on a lofty and fragile scaffold, which collapsed beneath his weight. He fell in the midst of rickety cages, which, filled with wild animals, had been placed beneath the scaffold for the occasion. The animals easily broke out and mangled the culprit.

It appears that the incident of Mucius Scaevola was very popular and was repeated several times under Domitian. Here the criminal taking the rôle of the daring assassin unflinchingly held his hand in the flames, as Martial tells us (8.30):

'What is now seen as a spectacle in the arena of Caesar, in the time of Brutus was the height of glory. Do you see how bravely the hand grasps the flames and enjoys the punishment and reigns in the astonished fire? He himself is there as a spectator of himself and glories in the noble destruction of his right hand. But, if the punishment had not been denied him against his will, his left hand, more cruel to itself, was ready to go into the weary flames. After such an achievement, I am sorry to know what he did before. For me it suffices to know this hand as I have seen it'.

In 10.25, Martial refers to a performance of the same event, but in this case, after knowing the alternative offered to the culprit, the poet does not consider the feat anything wonderful:

'If that Mucius who was recently seen in the arena in the morning and who placed his own members into the flames to you appears enduring, stern, and brave, you have the sense of the commons of Abdera. For, when in the presence of the *tunica molesta* the command comes, "Burn your hand", it is a greater thing to say, "I won't do it" '.

Sometimes the arena was flooded and transformed into a lake, and then the Romans beheld Leander swimming to his beloved Hero (Martial, De Spectaculis 25). It is needless to assume that the swimmer actually said, 'Spare me in my haste, drown me on my return', but doubtless the man was allowed to struggle in the water until he was exhausted and drowned.

Again, according to Martial, De Spectaculis 26, in the flooded arena a band of Nereids represented a ship in full sail. Probably no ship was on the water, but it was left to the imagination of the spectators, the maidens being arranged in such groups as readily to suggest a ship with its accessories. Some appear to have formed the outline of the ship and swelling sails, while others were arranged in ranks like the oars and the rowers. One band formed a trident, another a curved anchor, while two bore torches in their rôle of the Dioscuri.

Performances sometimes were given at night, and possibly the representations of Leander and the Nereids were part of a nocturnal programme. The word *nocturna*, in Martial, De Spectaculis 25.1, suggests a night scene, unless, knowing the story of Leander, the spectators imagined it was night while the play was really given in the daytime. The Dioscuri certainly would have been more effective at night. Suetonius (Caligula 27, at the end) records that under Caligula a nocturnal scene was rendered in which the stories of the infernal regions were exhibited by Egyptians and Ethiopians. The Romans did not lack means of illumination; for Statius tells us (Silvae 1.6. 85 ff.) that at the Saturnalia of 90 A. D. the amphitheater was brilliantly illuminated (compare also Lucilius, Frag. 111Baehrens).

These were but a few of the amusements of the Roman people in the decadence of the stern spirit represented by Cato. And yet a recital of the events portrayed in the Roman amphitheater does not justify us in forming the conclusion that the Roman was coarser or more brutal than other races; considering the age in which he lived, he certainly does not suffer in comparison with the American people. In our Colonial period the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post stood in the public square, and their victims were pelted by the rabble. A public hanging would draw a crowd from miles around. Nor can we assume that he was more extravagant than we are, when we consider that in Jersey City, July 2, 1921, the receipts for admission to the Dempsey-Carpentier fight were approximately $1,600,000. The Romans enjoyed the spectacles of the amphitheater just as much as modern people find pleasure in watching the pictures projected on the screen by the cinematograph. In Rome, however, we note a decrease of seriousness of purpose and the decay of the national spirit. With the spread of the Roman arms and the importation of luxuries, the populace found its highest pleasure and satisfaction in public grain and games. Instead of the patriotic Roman of the times of the Punic Wars, we find in process of development a different character, whose main concern is not how the legions fare on the frontiers, but whether the Blues or the Greens have won the day in the Circus.

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REVIEWS

Memoirs of The American Academy in Rome. Volume I: School of Classical Studies 1915–1916. Bergamo Istituto Italiano D'Arti Grafiche (1917). Pp. 172. Plates 54. $5.00.

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Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume II. New York: University Press Association; Cambridge: Harvard University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press (1918). Pp. 101. Plates 70. $7.50.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume III. Rome: American Academy in Rome; New York: University Press Association; New Haven: Yale University Press; Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1919). Pp. 101. Plates 91. $8.00.

These are indeed sumptuous volumes (they measure about fourteen by ten inches). The illustrations are among the finest I have ever seen.

The contents of Volume I are as follows:

The Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic, Jesse Benedict Carter (9–17); The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours, E. K. Rand and George Howe (19–57); The Aqua Traiana and the Mills on the Janiculum, A. W. Van Buren, in Collaboration with G. P. Stevens (59–61); Ancient Granulated Jewelry of the VIIth Century B. C. and Earlier, C. Densmore Curtis (63–85); Bartolomeo Caporali (Plates 20–48), Stanley Lothrop (87–102); Capita Desecta and Marble Coiffures (Plates 49–50), John R. Crawford (103–119); The Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria (Plates 51–54), Eugene S. McCartney (121–167); Index (169–170); Index Locorum (171–172).

Volume II contains the following papers:

Recent Work of the School of Fine Arts (Plates 1–15), (11–14); Terracotta Arulae (Plates 16–22), E. Douglas Van Buren (Mrs. A. W. Van Buren), (15–53); The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives, Lucy George Roberts (55–65); Studies in the Archaeology of the Forum at Pompeii (Plates 23–25), A. W. Van Buren (67–76); Pietro Cavallini (Plates 26–70), Stanley Lothrop (77–98); Index (99–100); Index Locorum (101).

The contents of Volume III are:

The Bernardini Tomb (Plates 1–71), C. Densmore Curtis (9–90); Praxias (Plates 72–75), E. Douglas Van Buren (91–100); Work of the School of Fine Arts (Plates 76–91), (101).

Professor Carter maintains that Juno was paired originally not with Jupiter, but with Janus. This connection of Janus and Juno is brought out most clearly in connection with the Curiae, "in many respects most primitive of all the social divisions of Rome . . .". On page 12 we read:

But the activity of the King and the Queen along religious lines was not confined to their functions as special priests of Janus, Juno and Vesta. They had important executive functions as well. The whole organization of the state religion seems to have been dependent upon the King. Even in the earliest period there seem to have existed side by side the two great activities, which were afterwards carried on by the college of the pontiffs and the college of augurs respectively. In the kingly period these two colleges existed merely in the rudimentary form of advisors to the King, who was himself entirely independent in his actions and in no wise bound by his councillors. Similarly the King and the Queen together were responsible for the worship of Vesta, and the Queen was assisted by the Vestal Virgins in the carrying out of the worship at the state hearth, but the Vestals were merely her assistants, and she represented them all and was herself in the power of her husband the King.

The course of the reorganization which came about with the establishment of the (so-called) Republic Professor Carter outlines as follows (12–17). In the regal period there had been centralization of power—a one-man *imperium*. Under the Republic it was held that the *imperium* belonged to the aristocracy, or, in other words, to the Senate. The Senate, having stripped the King of every vestige of imperium, parcelled it out to individuals in very small pieces.

An official called the Rex Sacrorum was created. He was a Rex, however, only in name. He was "the most honored and the least powerful man in the state".

This reminiscent King of the Republic had no other functions than those particular acts of worship which the gods, and especially Janus, had a right to receive at his hand . . . .

Venerable as was the connection of the King with the Curiae, the most important of his executive functions were in relation to the religion of the state. Here he was the chief priest, assisted to be sure by a council of priests, but, as we have seen, acting entirely independently of them. This part of the King's activities must be removed from him at once. The council now becomes independent. It takes, as it were, into its own bosom the power which the King had had. . . but delegates it at once to one of their own number, to whom was given the title of Pontifex Maximus. Thus was created the office of Pontifex Maximus, that man in whom were united the principal executive functions of the King. . . .

. . . The name <Regina> was retained, with the addition of *sacrorum*, and she continued to perform the same priestly functions as she had always done; but her executive work was taken from her. The principal feature of this executive work was her connection with the Vestal Virgins. Her place was now filled by the appointment of a Virgo Maxima (the doyenne of the Vestals). Here again conservatism and logic had their perfect work. As the Regina had been legally in the *potestas* of her husband, the Rex, so now in their new relationship the Virgo Maxima is in the *potestas* of the Pontifex Maximus.

In the American Journal of Archaeology 7. 13–25, 157–197, 405–428, Professor F. W. Shipley, of Washington University, St. Louis, published, under the title, Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts, an elaborate study of a manuscript of Livy, to be found in the Vatican Library (Reginensis, 762). In Memoirs, I, Professors Rand and Howe describe this manuscript as worthless for the text, but most interesting palaeographically. On pages 23–24 they give a list of articles in which it has been discussed from various points of view. Traube, in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie, 1891, 425–427, noticing that the names of seven of the eight scribes which are found in this manuscript appear in the list of the monks of St. Martin's at Tours, claimed that the book had been produced at Tours, and, for certain reasons, maintained that the manuscript had been produced between 804 and 834. Professor Shipley (11) accepted Traube's view as to date, and regarded the script of this manuscript as "one of the best examples of the calligraphy of Tours".

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From this view, Professors Rand and Howe dissent. They believe that, when Alcuin retired to Tours in 796, he found there a 'hand' which had been in use for some time, with individual and promising traits. Now, Alcuin had received from Charlemagne a commission to emend the books of the Bible. In 801, he presented to Charlemagne a text, just revised by the hand of a favorite pupil, Fridugisus. This copy of the Bible, written presumably in the regular 'hand' of Tours, is represented, say our authors, by a goodly array of manuscripts in what is universally acknowledged to be in the typical hand of Tours. In the Bible known as the Bible of Bamberg, Professors Rand and Howe think we have the original text of Alcuin and the script which he helped to establish. Of the Livy manuscript the authors write as follows (24–25):

The manuscript abounds in crude and antiquated forms which are not to be found in the Bamberg Book. . . . if the Bamberg Bible was done under Alcuin, then the Livy must have appeared before the coming of Alcuin to Tours. One might suppose that the Livy, as the external testimony apparently indicates, was done under Fridugisus, perhaps soon after 804, while the series of which the Bamberg Bible was the first member started, say, a decade later.

The article contains also very elaborate studies of the identity of the scribes by whom the manuscript was written, and of the portions assigned to each, their handwritings, and of other characteristics of the manuscript. There is an elaborate table giving an analysis of the work of the individual scribes. Twelve of the fourteen fine plates which illustrate the article have to do with the manuscript of Livy. They show the hands of the different scribes.

Granulated jewelry, says Mr. Curtis, consists of gold ornaments decorated with minute globules of gold. From 2,000 B. C., until Etruscan art began to degenerate, certain workman (64)

were masters of a process which enabled them to attach these tiny particles to the surface of their jewelry by a minimum amount of solder, so that they either appeared to rest on the surface without support, or are raised on low pedestals, in either of which cases they cast a sharp shadow and stand out in high relief. In the jewelry of the best period they are generally raised from the surface, thereby giving an additional play of light and shade and an inimitable charm to the objects so ornamented.

On pages 64–66, Mr. Curtis discusses the technical processes employed in the production of such jewelry. He then examines the jewelry of the different periods, and describes in detail a few of the best known specimens which he has been privileged to examine. Some of these specimens have not as yet been brought before the public. The four plates beautifully illustrate the article, by photographic reproductions of various objects. Perhaps the best of these is a *fibula*, belonging to Mr. Curtis himself, and lent by him to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate 18).

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6. 74–79 (December 21, 1912), Professor Eugene S. McCartney, in a paper entitled The Genesis of Rome's Military Equipment, considered the genesis and the development of the sword, the shield, the spear, the breastplate, the legion, etc. In Memoirs, I, he discusses these and similar things, including musical instruments, the chariot, and the cavalry. Even more strongly and more clearly than in his article in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, he maintains (166) that the Romans were most deeply indebted in all these fields to the Etruscans. The article presents, in great detail, the evidence on each topic discussed; it is thoroughly documented by footnotes, which call attention to the ancient evidence, in the literatures, to archaeological evidence still extant, and to modern discussions of the passages in the literatures and of the archaeological evidence.

Professor Crawford's paper deals with certain ancient marble heads, "sliced neatly at the crown like breakfast eggs, or in some cases at the occiput" (103). Some of these heads bear "mortised segments" (103). In 1883, S. Reinach advanced, as an explanation of such heads, the theory that the ancient sculptor was at times compelled to make use of more than one block of marble for a single head. Later, Professor Paul Gauckler connected with these segmented heads certain other material, including several heads of Roman imperial ladies of the Emesene dynasty, which, in some cases, had removable coiffures. By way of explaining all this material, Gauckler set forth the hypothesis (104–105)

that we are dealing with a rite of anointing in connection with cult statues of adopted Syrian divinities in the syncretistic age of the Severi. If the statue was ready to hand, as in the case of the Hellenistic Dionysus . . . the head was formally cut, the oil applied, and the segment mortised on again. If it was made new for the purpose, as in the case of . . . the heads of imperial ladies . . . , the head and the segment (or coiffure) were prepared separately to begin with. In general the rite falls into the same category with the nimbus, the royal crown, the radiate diadem, the anointing of the kings of Judah, the tonsure of priests, and the trepanation of the Pharaohs. It is a matter of the brain as the seat of the soul, where the Divine Essence and the human creature conjoin.

This theory Professor Crawford's investigations led him to reject completely. He maintains that the mass of material is too heterogeneous to be accounted for by a cult act, which would "involve above all else a more or less definite uniformity of type. Incidentally, no case has been adduced of a cavity in the head. . ." (118).

We may continue, he says (118–119), to explain the phenomenon of the marble segment on technical grounds. Sometimes it was added of necessity by the original sculptor; sometimes it was a later restoration in repair of damage done to the head after it had left the workshop. Where no segment is present, it is possible that the head, having been damaged, was trimmed to better its appearance. Perhaps, at times, portraits of Emperors were made with removable diadems. Finally, Professor Crawford holds that "Greek and Roman sculptors were more ready than we have been willing to admit to employ more than a single block in the making of a marble head".

Mrs. Van Buren's article, in Volume II of the Memoirs, deals with a great quantity of small objects

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that, throughout a long period of years, have been turned up by the excavations in Sicily and in Southern Italy, as far north as Rome. Although these objects are not of great artistic merit in themselves, they are, she thinks, important, because, in her belief, they not only influenced sculpture in general, but in particular exercised a profound influence "hitherto not adequately recognized", on Roman sarcophagi.

These small objects are mostly rectangular in shape, closed above and open beneath; the front long side is usually decorated with a relief and some times all four sides are so treated, although in the majority of cases the second long side is left rough. They are most frequently found in necropoles or sanctuaries, and also, occasionally, in dwelling houses. This seems to prove that their denomination as arulae, arette or small altars is correct. . . .

Their chief interest lies in the subjects represented, some types being especially favoured in certain districts, whilst others spread over a wide area. The shapes, too, vary with the region . . . .

On pages 17–47, Mrs. Van Buren groups the arulae according to the types represented on them, under the following captions:

I. Animal Contests (Lion Attacks Stag; Lion Rending Bull; Lion Attacking Horse; Two Lions Attacking Bull; Two Felines Devouring Stag; etc.); II. Mythological Monsters (Sphinx; Syrens; Harpies; Satyr; Centaur; etc.); III. Divinities; IV. Mythological Beings (Europa on the Bull; Herakles Attacking the Hydra; etc.); V. Human Protagonists (Charioteers and Riders; Flute-Player and Dancers; etc.); VI. Decorative Subjects; VII. Ill-Defined Subjects; VIII. Without Design.

The only theme found in all the colonies, Dorian, Achaean, and Phoenician alike, is the theme which is perhaps the earliest of all, the lion rending a bull. "The idea underlying the motive seems to be that as here the weaker animal is always overcome by the lion's resistless force, so before the invincible might of Death all men are helpless victims".

On pages 49–50 Mrs. Van Buren writes:

I have alluded to the influence of these arulae upon Roman sarcophagi, an influence which has previously been attributed exclusively to the Etruscan urns. These latter undoubtedly determined the shape of the earlier tombs and the effigy of the deceased upon the lid. But attention has often been drawn to the sanguinary character of the Etruscan reliefs, whereas in their Roman successors a milder and more allegorical choice of subjects is noticeable. Therefore it is credible that, before they became acquainted with Greek masterpieces like the Alexander sarcophagus, such funereal themes as the lion rending a bull had been made familiar to the Romans by the humble arulae which had popularized a series of representations unknown upon the Etruscan urns but consecrated, even in the original home in Asia Minor, to the adornment of tombs and the cult of the dead . . . .

To sum up the conclusions: these arulae originate with the Greek colonies: they are not found however on the Greek mainland, and most therefore reveal a usage and, possibly, a cult either purely local or brought from somewhere other than the mother country of the settlers. The subjects represented are schemes common to Oriental art, and here the Loryma basis comes to our assistance; for it shows that precisely on an altar basis just such subjects are treated. Presumably, then, the Greek colonists knew of the use of sculptured altars as tomb monuments in Asia Minor at any rate, if not in Greece proper, and in their new homes they perpetuated this form of memorial, but in miniature, depositing it *within* instead of *upon* the tomb. Although this was the original purpose of the arulae, it is easily conceivable that they were soon also dedicated as ex-votos in sanctuaries, or even employed in houses for commemorative or domestic cults, which would account for their presence in temples and dwelling houses.

This custom must have been carried north by the colonists, for after a long tract of territory where arulae are not found, they appear again in the Greek settlement of Capua and then in Rome and the neighborhood, including Caere and Ardea, both traditional Greek foundations. The isolated finds at Hadria and Baccuco in Picenum must be due to this influence, for it was refugees from the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse who about 380 B. C. built the haven of Ancona.

The prevalence in the northern district of the hourglass shape, never found in Sicily or Southern Italy, implies the influence of another tradition which can only be Etruscan, a supposition confirmed by comparison with the altars of Veiovis from Bovillae, of Calvinus from the Palatine, or the cippus altar from Orvieto. Mykenean gems show close parallels to this type and so do Babylonian seal cylinders. Now it is noteworthy that this is precisely the shape of the so-called "table-leg altars" of Maltese megalithic buildings, where they are often placed in a shrine or niche very similar to that of the altar found at Fiesole.

Though I am not an archaeologist, I venture to note here that Mrs. Van Buren's reference, in the last paragraph quoted, to "Maltese megalithic buildings" made me think, at once, of the very interesting paper published by Dr. Ernst Riess, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 14, on Aeneid 6. 42–44, in which he called attention to an extraordinary parallelism between the series of chambers found on the island of Malta and Vergil's description of the *antrum Cumaeum*. Mrs. Van Buren's statements, however, point to a distinct difference, in the matter with which she is dealing, between Malta and Sicily or Southern Italy.

Miss Roberts's purpose is to determine, so far as possible, the effect of the Gallic invasion and fire of 387 B. C. on the archives of Rome. Her conclusion is that the temples of Saturn, Castor, Dius Fidius, Diana, Ceres, and perhaps that of Juno, survived. On the other hand, the Regia, the Temple of Apollo, and the Rostra were destroyed. On page 64 she says:

This regard for temples, on the part of the Gauls, is entirely in keeping with the characteristic religiosity which reveals itself in their adopting oriental cults in Asia Minor and Druidism in Britain.

If Miss Roberts is right in these conclusions, it follows that "probably almost all of the international documents deposited on the Capitoline and in the other temples, escaped destruction. . . . The pontifical records, on the contrary, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables apparently perished" (64–65).

Obviously these views, if correct, are of the very greatest importance. If they are accepted, it will be necessary to revise a good deal of what, since the days of Niebuhr, has passed for scientific study of the history of Rome.

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Professor Van Buren's article on the antiquities of the Forum at Pompeii is meant in part to correct certain statements about well-known monuments, in part to call attention to matters of interest which have long passed unobserved. He deals especially with The Great Inscription on the Pavement of the Forum. It is well known, he says, that the Forum of Pompeii was paved, about the beginning of the first century A. D., with large blocks of limestone, well laid. Considerable portions of this pavement are preserved at the North end and at the South end of the Forum. Professor Van Buren seems to have made an interesting discovery—that this pavement contained a great inscription

in letters of bronze set into the limestone blocks, and running from the west to the east side of the Forum. Of this monumental inscription there survives in position only the cutting for the first letter, a Q, in a block of the pavement immediately to the East of the very large oblong statue base which is situated at about the middle of the west side of the Forum. . . . This one letter, given its character and position, is ample evidence for the former existence of the whole inscription: similar pavements containing similar inscriptions have been preserved in at least three instances.

The instances to which Dr. Van Buren refers are the Roman Forum (see Hülsen-Carter, The Roman Forum[2], 148); the main Forum at Tarracina; the secondary Forum in the lower town at Tarracina (here, says Dr. Van Buren, "by great good fortune, the bronze letters themselves are preserved, not merely their matrices").

Next, Dr. Van Buren discusses the arched structure of masonry in the center of the South end of the Forum. This he proposes to identify as simply the Ianus of Pompeii, and to associate its erection in its present form with some renewal or extension of the privileges of the city under the early Empire.

Finally, Dr. Van Buren combats a view, set forth by H. Thédenat in his book, Pompeii, 2. 16–20, that the Romans, at the time they founded the colony in Pompeii, introduced important changes in the plan of the Forum as they found it; all the evidence, he says, points toward a fair degree of continuity.

In this connection attention may be called to a very interesting article by Dr. Van Buren, entitled The Past Decade of Pompeian Studies, in The Classical Journal 15.404–417 (April, 1920). In this he deals with such topics as

Situation and Town-Plan; The Races of Mankind Represented in the People; The Pre-Roman Period; The Roman Period; The Eruption of 79 A. D.; After 79 A. D.; Public Edifices; Water Supply; The Area Outside the Gates; Private Houses; The Inhabitants and Their Occupation; The Fine Arts; Mosaics; Inscriptions.

The Bernardini Tomb, with which Mr. Curtis deals in Volume III, was discovered in 1876 at Palestrina (ancient Praeneste). It got its name from the Messrs. Bernardini, who furnished the money for the excavation. Though the excavation was carelessly conducted, and no accurate records were made as the work progressed, a remarkable group of objects was preserved, of gold, silver, bronze, iron, amber, ivory, glass, wood, and leather, some of manifest Eastern origin, some of local workmanship. The entire collection was finally purchased by the Museo Kircheriano (now called Museo Preistorico).

The article by Mrs. Van Buren, entitled Praxias, is a study of one of the artists to whom was entrusted the important task of adorning the temple at Delphi when it was rebuilt after its destruction in the early part of the fourth century B. C. Mrs. Van Buren begins by declaring that from three inscriptions it is certain that Praxias was at work in the early half of the fourth century B. C. But here a difficulty arises, because Pausanias 10. 19.4 declares that Praxias was a pupil of Kalamis, whose greatest activity lay between 466 and 430 B. C. Since Praxias lived and worked till 340 B. C., he could not have studied under Kalamis. Mrs. Van Buren disposes of the difficulty by accepting a suggestion of M. Homolle that the scribe made a mistake in the manuscript of Pausanias, and substituted the name of Kalamis for that of Kallimachos, an artist well known, who worked toward the end of the fourth century B. C. Mrs. Van Buren brings new considerations to the support of M. Homolle's view. She then considers various works which have been by different authorities attributed to Kallimachos, and proceeds from these to work he influenced, work which may be attributed to Praxias himself. She sums up as follows (100): . . . in the series of reliefs known as the Kitharoidos reliefs we have a mutilated version of the West pediment of the Delphic sanctuary, the chief and final work of Praxias. After his death the East pediment was finished by Androsthenes, who combined certain types taken from his predecessor's cycle with other types from his great contemporary Skopas.

Thus far we have been dealing, in this account of the Memoirs, with the work of The School of Classical Studies at Rome. Another important side of the three volumes is that which represents the work of The School of Fine Arts. In Volume II, page 9, there is a statement to the effect that the Trustees of The American Academy in Rome have decided to present each year in the Memoirs a collection of Plates reproducing the work of the Fellows of the School of Fine Arts. In that volume fifteen subjects were chosen for such reproduction. Some of these are of distinct interest to the student of the Classics, such as the drawing of a Capital of the Temple of Mars Ultor, at Rome; a restored plan of the Palace of Domitian, on the Palatine Hill; a restoration of the Ponte Rotto.

Among the Plates in Volume III, is a plan of Delphi, a plan of the Women's Baths at the Villa of Hadrian (at Tivoli), and the Interior of the Pantheon, showing existing marbles and a restoration, according to Piranesi, of the demolished parts.

This side of the Academy's work is represented also by an article, in Volume I, by Stanley Lothrop, on the Perugian painter, Bartolomeo Caporali. This is a study of his life and career, illustrated by many plates, reproducing his works. In Volume II, Mr. Lothrop makes a similar study of Pietro Cavallini.

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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY is published by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, weekly, on Mondays from October 1 to May 31 inclusive, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, at Barnard College, Broadway and 120th St., New York City.

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Single copies, 10 cents. Extra numbers, 10 cents each. Back volumes, 1-14, $2.00 each.

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APR 1 1922

The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.
Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, NO. 20 MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1922 WHOLE NO. 416

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 22 MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1922 WHOLE NO. 418

PERIODICALS SUPPORTING THE CAUSE OF THE CLASSICS[1]

Two publications of the University of Iowa have contained material of interest to teachers of the Classics. Professor Ullman's Occasional Letters to <Iowa> Teachers are continued by Letter No. 9, dated November 14, 1921. The letter announces that the Extension Division has available for distribution the films Julius Caesar and Last Days of Pompeii. Letter No. 10 was published on January 24, 1922. The Fourth Annual Conference of the Latin Teachers of Iowa was to be held at Iowa City, on March 10–11. The chief speakers were to be Professors F. W. Kelsey and W. L. Carr. Iowa is to be the State wherein an intensive survey is to be undertaken as a check on the national Latin Investigation. Some of the Service Bulletins issued by the University contain items of interest. A new periodical, the Philological Quarterly, has just been established at the same institution as an additional outlet for the productive activity of American scholars. The first number, issued January, 1922, contains a paper by Professor Ullman on The Vatican Manuscript of Caesar, Pliny, and Sallust and the Library of Corbie, and a review of Professor Tenney Frank's Economic History of Rome, by J. S. Magnuson.

The Department of Ancient Languages of the University of Arizona published Series II, No. 1, of its News Letter on December 1, 1921. It begins with this statement:

> Three facts furnish teachers of Latin cause for self-congratulation. (1) The need of that kind of education which the study of Latin can help to furnish is certain to be more clearly recognized in the near future. (2) A more intelligent interest in the study of Latin is becoming manifest. (3) Aids to the more effective teaching of Latin are soon to be forthcoming.

Confirmation of the first two points is found in the speech of Vice-President Coolidge, of the third point, in the Latin Investigation.

The Department of Classical Languages of Ohio University (Athens) also issues a News Letter. Vol. II, No. 2, dated November 30, 1921, has in a Supplement some interesting material for Latin bulletin boards. There is also a brief report of a conference of Latin teachers of Southeastern Ohio.

The Department of Latin of the University of Pittsburgh has continued to publish its News Letter, now in its third year. No. 1, dated September 1, 1921, offers suggestions to the teacher, looking to better teaching. It also gives a brief report of Vice-President Coolidge's address and of the defence of the Classics by Chief Justice Taft, given out through the Register-Public Ledger Service, Philadelphia. Mr. Taft finds the justification of Latin in the fact that it is the source of nearly half the English vocabulary, that it is the best guide to grammar and to the Romance languages, and in its value as a discipline. No. 2, issued November 1, 1921, contains a letter from Professor H. S. Scribner urging the claims of Greek in the High School, and a report of an article in the Springfield Republican entitled The Classics a Remedy for Nationalism. No. 3, of November 15, 1921, contains a list of novels of interest to teachers of Latin and ancient history, prepared by Mr. Harold W. Gilmer. In No. 4, dated December 1, 1921, the problem of translation as a test of comprehension is briefly discussed, and in No. 5, issued February 15, 1922, there are reports of three papers of interest to teachers. The first is A Study of One Thousand Errors in Latin Prose Composition, by Mr. C. W. Odell, printed in School and Society, December 31, 1921. Mr. Odell finds, among other things, that 23% of the errors were due to faulty reasoning, 34% to imperfect memory, and 43% to carelessness. A second paper is by Mr. Alvah Talbot Otis, in the January number of The School Review, giving the results of some English tests which revealed a considerable superiority for Latin students. The third paper, by Francis J. Donnelly, S. J., published in America for June 11, 1921, urges increased emphasis on the literary side of the Classics as a means of general training. Occasional numbers of Modern Languages, Gossip and News, from the same institution, contain items of interest to Latin teachers

The Indiana State Committee of Latin Teachers has issued, as a bulletin of the Extension Division, Indiana University, a pamphlet containing an announcement of the plans of the Committee.

Several High Schools have Latin publications or give space to Latin activities in their School papers. Thus the Schenley Triangle (Schenley High School, Pittsburgh), and the papers of the Marietta (O.) Junior High School, New Concord (O.) High School, and others give space to the classical clubs. Students of the Male High School, Reading, Pa., under the guidance of Mr. G. E. Kramlich, published in June, 1921, a pamphlet containing cuts, classical club programs, and original contributions in Latin. The Latin Club of the Louisville Male High School publishes a Bulletin, sometimes mimeographed, sometimes printed. Vol. I, No. 9, dated April 27, 1921, is devoted mainly to the Latin Contest conducted by the Club. Vol. II, No. 3, of November 16, 1921, contains an account of Palamedes, a description (somewhat inexact) of certain Pompeian Wall in-

[1] See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.1–2, 8–9.

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scriptions, and other material. The Boys' High School, Brooklyn, has its publication, Forum Latinum. Vol. III, No. 2, dated November, 1921, has an English article on the Roman School, the rest being in Latin. The drawings are not above criticism. The same is true of those in Vol. III, No. 3 (December, 1921), which also contains a mixture of Latin and English.

University of Pittsburgh Evan T. Sage

A REPORT OF PROGRESS IN A NUMBER OF SPECIAL PROJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE CLASSICAL INVESTIGATION

In a previous article, entitled The Testing-Program Involved in the Latin Investigation Now Under Way, The Classical Weekly 15.41–43, the portion of the Investigation which involves the giving of a series of tests and the measurement of progress based upon the results was described in detail.

Many other phases of the Investigation are now well under way, under the direction of various Institutions and individual teachers. In the Preliminary Report submitted by the Special Investigators the statement was made that only through the cooperation of large numbers of men and women in the fields of Education and of Latin could the Committee hope to carry out any considerable part of its program. That this cooperation has been forthcoming is indicated clearly by the outline of projects given in the present article. We take occasion now to express the keen appreciation of the Advisory Committee and of the Special Investigating Committee of the very generous cooperation which has been vouchsafed.

The following projects are now launched, and the Committee is confident that the great majority of them will be brought to a successful culmination.

(1) A cooperative study to determine, on the basis of frequency and rank, the 25,000 most important English words, under the direction of Professor Edward L. Thorndike and Miss Ethel Newcomb, of the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, with the cooperation of 200 teachers of Latin, working in groups in New York State, Philadelphia, Boston, Topeka (Kansas), and Richmond (Kentucky). The cooperating teachers have been organized by Dr. Clyde R. Jeffords, Newtown High School, New York City, Dr. Arthur W. Howes, Central High School, Philadelphia, Dr. Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School, Boston, Mr. Wren J. Grinstead, Kentucky State Normal School, Richmond, Kentucky, and Miss Laura L. Ewing, High School, Topeka, Kansas. About 20 other teachers are collaborating individually in other parts of the country.

(2) A cooperative study involving the collection, study, analysis, and organization for teaching purposes of Latin words and phrases found in contemporary English reading, conducted by Miss Lou V. Walker, Graduate Student in the Department of Latin, University of Wisconsin, with the cooperation of 125 teachers, under the general direction of Professor M. S. Slaughter, Department of Latin, and Professor V. A. C. Henmon, Department of Education, University of Wisconsin.

(3) A cooperative study involving the collection, analysis, and organization for teaching purposes of the classical ideas and allusions in such contemporary English reading as falls within the range of the High School student, conducted by Miss Ruth B. King and Miss Margaret Bunyan, Graduate Students in th Department of Latin, University of Wisconsin, with the cooperation of 100 Latin teachers, under the direction of Professor Frances E. Sabin, University of Wisconsin.

(4) A cooperative study to result in the construction of a classical lexicon with English derivatives based upon an etymological analysis of the New Oxford (Murray's) English Dictionary, by twenty-five Latin teachers in and near Chicago, under the leadership of Mr. A. W. Smalley, Graduate Student in the University of Chicago, Hyde Park High School, with the assistance of Professors Beeson, Bonner, and Buck, University of Chicago.

(5) An analysis by five thousands of the 25,000 most important English words (see 1, above), by Mr. Edward Y. Lindsay, Miss Belle Coulter, and three others yet to be assigned, Graduate Students in the Departments of Education and Latin, under the joint direction of Dean H. Lester Smith, School of Education, and Professor S. E. Stout, Department of Latin, Indiana University.

(6) A series of studies connected with the teaching of English spelling through Latin, by Mr. W. L. Coxe, Graduate Student in the Department of Education, Ohio State University, under the direction of Professor B. R. Buckingham, Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, Ohio State University, as follows:

(a) The construction of a series of four tests to measure growth in the ability of High School pupils to spell English words of Latin derivation.

(b) The conduct of spelling-tests in a number of Schools throughout the country to determine the relative rate of progress in ability to spell, made by Latin and non-Latin pupils, and to determine the most effective methods by which Latin can be made an instrument in the teaching of English spelling, by an analysis of the content and methods employed in the Schools making the greatest gain.

(c) A controlled experiment in a few selected Schools in and near Columbus for the explicit purpose of determining the most effective methods in using Latin to assist English spelling.

(d) Contemporaneously a study to determine those English words to the spelling of which a knowledge of Latin can furnish aid, and, as a complement of this study, the determination of the Latin words the capacity of which for assisting in English spelling is the greatest.

(7) The construction and administration of tests for the purpose of measuring the effect of the study of Vergil upon the development of literary appreciation, and a determination of those methods of teaching Vergil which have proved most effective in cultivating this appreciation, by Miss Barbara M. Hahn, Central High School, Springfield, Mass., under the direction of Professor Allan Abbott, of the Department of English, Teachers College, Columbia University.

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(8) An experiment to establish by prognostic tests, checked and controlled by progress tests, whether it is possible to predict the success or the failure of pupils electing Latin as the foreign language, and thus to decrease by a wise selection the percentage of mortality in the first term of the subject, conducted by the Latin Department of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, New York, with the counsel and assistance of Professor Thomas H. Briggs, Teachers College, Columbia University. The tests themselves are being worked out by Mr. W. S. Allen, Graduate Student in Teachers College.

(9) A study based upon controlled experiments for the purpose of determining the most effective method of teaching in connection with Latin a knowledge of less familiar words derived from Latin, and in particular to determine the extent to which there may be expected an automatic transfer of the facts learned in Latin to a knowledge of English derivatives. The study is being made by Mr. A. A. Hamblen, Graduate Student in the Department of Education, University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Professor Arthur J. Jones, Department of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

(10) A study based upon a controlled experiment for the purpose of determining the most effective method of teaching a knowledge of less familiar words derived from Latin in connection with the regular work in English, and in particular to determine to what extent a study of word-analysis and of Latin roots, prefixes, and suffixes is of value for this purpose, and the best methods of presenting this material to non-Latin pupils. This study is being conducted by Mr. R. I. Haskell, Graduate Student in the Department of Education, University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Professor Arthur J. Jones.

(11) The construction of tests in Latin inflections, by Miss Caroline Tyler, Graduate Student in the Department of Education, Ohio State University, under the direction of Professor Sidney L. Pressey, Department of Psychology.

(12) The construction of tests in Latin composition, by Miss Edith R. Godsey, Graduate Student in the Department of Latin, University of Kansas, under the direction of Professor Arthur T. Walker, Department of Latin, and Professor F. J. Kelly, Department of Education.

(13) The construction of a Latin comprehension test, by Professor Wren J. Grinstead, Kentucky State Normal School, Richmond, Kentucky.

(14) The construction, under the direction of Professor Thomas J. Kirby, Department of Education, and Professor B. L. Ullman, Department of Latin, State University of Iowa, of tests to measure the ability of Latin pupils to get the thought from Latin sentences and paragraphs without the additional problem of translation.

(15) The construction of a Latin sentence test, by Professor Evan T. Sage, Department of Latin, University of Pittsburgh.

(16) A study, under the direction of Dr. L. L. Thurstone, Department of Psychology, Carnegie Institute of Technology, to determine the effect of the study of Latin upon growth in reasoning power, as measured by tests based upon graded passages of English prose of considerable difficulty dealing with socially significant data, the result to be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively.

(17) A study, under the direction of Dr. W. W. Charters, Department of Educational Research, Carnegie Institute of Technology, of grammatical errors found in English compositions and English grammar tests written by High School pupils. The purpose is to determine to what extent these errors involve principles which are involved also in an understanding of the elements of Latin grammar.

(18) A study, under the direction of Professor B. L. Ullman, Department of Latin, and Professor Thomas J. Kirby, Department of Education, State University of Iowa, to determine by controlled experiments what content and what method in the teaching of Latin can be made to contribute most effectively to a knowledge of the principles of English grammar and to correct expression in English.

(19) The construction, under the direction of Professor S. B. Davis, Department of Education, and Professor Evan T. Sage, Department of Latin, University of Pittsburgh, of a test to measure the extent to which Latin pupils studying Caesar and Cicero understand the larger historical implications involved in the course.

(20) A study, under the direction of Professor V. A. C. Henmon, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, based upon controlled experiments for the purpose of determining the most effective methods of making a knowledge of Latin contribute to the mastery of French.

(21) A study, under the direction of Professor V. A. C. Henmon, to determine the most common French words the learning of which will best be assisted by a knowledge of related Latin words, and, as a complement of this study, the determination of the Latin words the potential capacity of which to assist in the mastery of a French vocabulary is greatest.

(22) The construction, under the direction of Professor S. A. Leonard, Department of English, University of Wisconsin, of a translation-scale for the use of Latin teachers in rating the quality of oral and written translations, the scale to be accompanied by explanatory notes and comments on typical problems presented in translating the passages included.

(23) A study, by Mr. Dorrance S. White, with the cooperation of the teachers of Minneapolis, of certain features of the Brown Latin Sentence Test used in the survey of the Schools of New Hampshire. This study involves a rating of 500 test papers to determine the correlation between Mr. Brown's published scores, which were based upon the Latin sentence as a unit, and scores to be secured on the basis of partial credits.

(24) The construction of a score-card to be used in securing from a large number of qualified Latin teachers throughout the country their opinion as to the relative importance year by year of the 26 objectives published in Section B of the Preliminary

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Report of the Investigating Committee (see The Classical Journal 17.22–25 [October, 1921]). This score-card is being prepared by a Committee of The New York Classical Club, Dr. Barclay W. Bradley, College of the City of New York, Chairman.

(25) A study involving the construction of a test to be used in measuring the effect of the study of Latin upon the development of certain ideals, such as patriotism, fidelity, social service, selfsacrifice, or, in other words, the "emotional attitudes of pupils toward social situations". This study is being developed by a Committee of The New York Classical Club, Dr. Barclay W. Bradley, College of the City of New York, Chairman.

(26) A study, conducted by Mr. Warren B. Rodney, Graduate Student in the Department of Education, University of Rochester, under the supervision of Dr. L. A. Peckstein, Department of Education, of the 10,000 words in Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book, to determine the Latin words which interpret the largest number of words in this list, and the relative proportion of Latin, Greek, and Anglo-Saxon words among these 10,000. This study is in a large measure a deliberate duplication of No. 5 above, to secure a check on that study.

(27) A study, under the direction of Professor S. E. Stout, of Indiana University, to determine at what point in the list of Latin derivatives contained in the 10,000 words of Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book it may be reasonably assumed that pupils beginning Latin are familiar with the majority of words up to that point and unfamiliar with the majority of words after that point.

(28) A study, under the direction of Dr. W. W. Charters, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, to determine through group-interviews the best opinions of experienced teachers as to the most effective methods for developing in pupils the various mental traits commonly ascribed to the study of Latin.

(29) A diagnostic analysis of the answer papers in Latin II, III, and IV given by the Regents of New York State. This is under the direction of Mr. S. Dwight Arms, State Department of Education, New York State, Mr. Elmer E. Bogart, Principal, Morris High School, New York City, and Mr. J. C. Morrison, State Department of Education, New York.

(30) A study, conducted by Professor Alexander J. Inglis, of Harvard University, designed to measure the effect of the study of Latin upon work done by first-year pupils in other subjects, similar to the Mathematics experiment conducted by Mr. Marsh, and described in Educational Administration and Supervision, for November, 1921, pages 458 ff.

(31) A study, carried on under the direction of Professor M. V. O'Shea, of the University of Wisconsin, to determine the extent to which graduates of Colleges have since graduation made use of their knowledge of Latin for professional purposes or for personal enjoyment.

(32) A similar study, carried on under the direction of Professor M. V. O'Shea, with regard to High School graduates.

(33) A study, carried on directly by the Special Investigators, to determine the percentage of Latin pupils who presumably will at some time during their High School course study each of the following subjects: French, Spanish, German, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, General Science, Geography or Physiography, Mathematics, Music, and Commercial Subjects.

(34) A study, conducted by Professor Frances E. Sabin and Professor W. L. Uhl, University of Wisconsin, to determine the relative amounts of time spent in the preparation of lessons in Latin and in the preparation of lessons in other subjects of the curriculum.

(35) An analysis of typical examination papers (question papers) secured by random sampling from Schools of all types in all parts of the country. The purpose is to determine the relative importance attached by teachers to the various immediate and ultimate objectives.

(36) A study, directed by Dr. M. B. Hillegas, Teachers College, Columbia University, to determine the standard of English used in translating the Latin passages in the examinations of the College Entrance Board and in the Regents' examinations of New York State.

(37) A study, at present under the direction of the Special Investigators, to determine the relative interest of pupils in the various authors read in High School and the relative emphasis given in the classroom to the various elements of the Latin work.

(38) A study, at present carried on by the Special Investigators, of the courses in the training of teachers now offered in Colleges and Normal Schools.

(39) A study, at present limited to Iowa State University, under the direction of President Jessup, to determine the effect of the previous study of Latin upon the mastery of modern foreign languages in College.

Special Investigating Committee

W. L. Carr — Mason D. Gray

W. V. McDuffie — Andrew F. West, *Chairman.*

THE TESTING OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES

The extensive program undertaken by the American Classical League to enlist Schools the country over in formal tests of the educational value of the study of Latin is bringing this whole subject more sharply than ever before to the attention of teachers of the Classics.

In view of the fact that this Investigation is just in its inception, it is, to say the least, surprising and unfortunate that one of the chief investigators should seem to attempt to prejudge the whole case, as has

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been done in The Classical Journal 17. 52–65 (November, 1921), in an article entitled The Function of Latin in the Secondary Curriculum, by Dr. Mason D. Gray, which consists largely of a violent attack upon Latin as now taught[1].

Presumably the American Classical League was launching upon a calm, dispassionate measurement of the values realized through present methods of teaching Latin; but here we are assured in advance that our critics are right, and that these values are nil—the one possibility of salvation being along the lines of the report of the Committee on the Junior High School Syllabus in Latin for New York State, according to which Latin is no longer to be taught as an end in itself, but must be made a *corpus vile* for drill in the derivation of words and other forms of training.

As said above, it is unfortunate that the case should thus be prejudiced at the very start. For the experimental test of educational values is yet very far from having attained the position of an exact science; and an investigator who begins work with a strong bias is almost sure to find confirmation of his own views.

Under these conditions it becomes necessary to reach some general understanding as to aims and purposes of the League in this Investigation; and, to this end, the following questions are proposed:

(1) Is it desired and intended that there shall be an adequate and unprejudiced measurement of the values realized from Latin as taught now and in the past?

(2) Is it good policy to join forces with the bitterest foes of Latin in order to push more effectively the claims of some one particular method?

(3) As to educational tests in general, to what extent have results justified confidence in the methods followed?

(4) Would good teachers of Latin care to continue the work, if forced to follow some such plan as is outlined in Dr. Gray's Introductory Lessons in High School English and Latin?

(5) Granting the willingness to try, would teachers of the rank and file be able to teach any *Latin* with such a method?

(6) Is it true that the fate of Latin in the Schools turns primarily upon the question of method?

Obviously a whole volume would hardly suffice for a full discussion of the above questions. Within the limits of a short article only a few points can be considered briefly, following the numbering as given above.

(1) This question must be answered by those in control of the Investigation. But it should be noted that, if the other Investigators of the American Classical League share the views of Dr. Gray, we cannot hope that the present Investigation will result in a dispassionate and impartial measurement that will adequately bring out the educational value of Latin as taught now and in the past.

(2) and (3). As to the reliability of formal measurements as a basis for hasty curriculum changes, one needs only to point to the mistakes that were made by the over-zealous educationalists who based a reform program upon the now generally discredited early conclusions of Professor E. L. Thorndike.

Or, to take an example from the paper now under discussion, Professor Starch is quoted (59) as having "demonstrated" that Latin is of no appreciable benefit to the student who undertakes the study of one of the Romance languages.

A reference to Professor Starch's test shows that it consists of listing students who took French, for example, dividing them into two groups, Latin and non-Latin. He discovers with manifest pleasure that the students with Latin training surpass in French by "only" about two per cent., and concludes (note the scientific accuracy of this) that "probably" any superiority shown is due, not to the training in Latin, but to the fact that the students who elect Latin are naturally more able.

Of this pitiful performance Dr. Gray says (60):

> Starch concludes that "the aid of one language in the study of another is only incidental and unimportant", but he adds the important reservation, *which represents precisely my contention*[2], "at least so far as present methods of teaching foreign languages go".

That Dr. Gray enters upon the Investigation fully committed to a "contention" of this sort augurs ill for the impartiality of the study; and it is a matter for profound regret that he should thus make common cause with the enemies of humanistic studies, and on the basis of such trivial reasoning.

The educational world has all but gone mad in the matter of hasty readjustments to fit some theory evolved by over-night experiments. Indeed, we might almost be pardoned for expecting to wake up some morning to find that the teaching of commercial arithmetic must be reformed, because someone has made the following startling 'discovery': '3 x 0 = 2 x 0; cancel the common factor, and 3 = 2'. Usually the more absurd the 'discovery', the more fanatical the zeal to 'reform' on the new basis. In this (educational) day and generation it is all-important to be up-to-date; being right is quite another matter.

As to Professor Starch's test, granting that the group of students whose records he examined is typical, the fact that a pupil with Latin background achieves in French a grade only slightly higher than one without such background does not by any means prove that the Latin student derives no help from his previous training.

For, if two students have an original aptitude in any way commensurate, for language study, the chances are that the one who is taking his first foreign language, if he will pay the price, can attain a grade very nearly as high as his fellow who has had experience with another foreign language. But this is not

[1] Since the above was submitted for publication, the writer has learned in a round-about way that Dr. Gray prefers to have his paper regarded merely as an expression of personal opinion. The fact remains, however, that the paper went to press several months after the appointment of Special Investigators by the American Classical League, and on page 62, footnote 2, the League Investigation is definitely linked with the program outlined in the article. Here, certainly, there is room for very serious misunderstanding, and what is written above should be read in the light of these circumstances.

[2] The Italics are mine.

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the point with which we are now concerned. What of the matter of economy of time and effort?

In the case of two languages related as Latin and French are there can be but one answer to this question. The student who has learned Latin is at a marked advantage in attacking French; there is abundance of 'transfer' all along the line—and without any conscious effort of the teacher to bring about this result.

It seems almost incredible that a preconceived idea should blind anyone to a fact so patent as this. If concrete evidence is desired, one has only to turn to the exhibit prepared by Miss Sabin to show the Latin elements underlying an average passage from some Romance language. It is absolutely impossible for a student to master Latin without acquiring a stock in trade that will help him immensely in the attack upon French or Spanish.

There has been brought to the writer's attention a wholly unpremeditated 'test' that drives this point home with telling force. The report was made by a friend of the person tested, and the details have been carefully checked.

A certain teacher, trained in Latin, but with classes in a non-language subject, desired to qualify through a civil service examination for another position. One of the requirements was a working knowledge of a modern foreign language, the applicant being allowed "a reasonable use of the dictionary".

This teacher had had two years of German at an earlier time, and planned to take the examination in that subject; but, on looking over the paper, found it impossible to do anything with it. As passing the examination was not a matter of vital import, the teacher started idly to glance through the other foreign language papers, among others that in Spanish. Here, though that language had previously not been studied at all, some familiar things were noted; with a little piecing together sense began to appear, and *on a Latin basis* a paper was written that won a pass mark in the civil service test[3].

In the light of these facts, it is truly interesting to learn from Professor Starch that he has "demonstrated" that "the aid of one language in the study of another is only incidental and unimportant". It makes a profound difference what the languages are. This student, trained in German, could make nothing of that paper, but, confronted with a Spanish test, administered under the same conditions and judged by the same Board, wrote a pass paper on the basis of the Latin background.

As between Latin as now taught and a Romance language there is unquestionably an immense amount of 'transfer', if the Investigators would but look for it, instead of trying to close their eyes to the patent facts of the case. Until this 'transfer' is impartially and adequately measured, we are by no means inclined to join in Dr. Gray's "contention" that no appreciable amount of transfer can be hoped for unless we abandon the study of Latin as now taught, and make it merely the avenue for certain intensively cultivated by-products.

How extensive and intricate an adequate test would necessarily be is indicated by the experience of a pupil of the writer. It is a matter of common report that students who take only a modern foreign language in School quickly forget what they have learned, unless there is actual need for the use of the language. The case that came under my observation was that of a woman with a background of Latin, who, after some years of disuse of elementary French, was able to enter and hold her own in advanced University courses in that subject.

This suggests the query whether or not the Latin background tends to hold and fix a pupil's knowledge of French or Spanish. Of course, Professor Starch and others would be quite ready to suggest that it is 'probable' that the student's aptitude in this particular case explains everything. But we are not interested in what Professor Starch thinks is probable. There are solid facts here waiting for investigation; and it will be well to withhold a verdict until all the evidence is in[4].

(4) and (5). Whether the best teachers would care to continue the work, if obliged to surrender Latin as an end and to substitute various sorts of training in other things, is a question that only they can answer.

No doubt is entertained as to what may be accomplished in Dr. Gray's own School—his success may be as great as that of Dr. Rouse with the Direct Method. But that does not mean that these methods are for everyone. Furthermore, it is, unfortunately, true that the Latin in many a small High School is in the hands of persons who are by no means qualified for the work, and who may even have been forced into it against their will. For these, at least, new methods requiring special training and aptitude would be extra hazardous.

(6) The emphasis which the present activity of the American Classical League is now placing upon educational measurements tends to obscure the fact that there are other fields of investigation calling imperatively for attention.

Thus, the changed constituency of the High School is in itself a distinct menace to the general maintenance of Latin in the Secondary School curriculum. In many Schools the great majority of the pupils have vocational aims, or no special aim at all. Under free election, exacting studies like Latin are shunned in favor of things that are more directly attractive and easy.

Most School Boards feel it necessary to provide first for the subjects largely elected; hence the rule

[3]These facts are transmitted by a former pupil of the writer and a personal friend of the individual.

[4]One wonders whether Dr. Gray at bottom really subscribes to the doctrine that 'We train what we train', on which he (like the apostles of the Modern School) professes to raise his structure. If so, one queries what he means when, on pages 64–65, in his address to students, he says: "So not only shall we find ourselves able to use Latin as a tool, but it will develop in us, if studied in the right way every day, a greater and greater power, which, once ours, *we can employ in solving problems in other fields*". In this quotation, the Italics are mine.

It is worth observing, in passing, that psychologists of note are now challenging the doctrine 'We train what we train', and there are hopeful signs that sanity is about to return, leaving the Modern School high and dry. See Professor G. M. Stratton, Atlantic Monthly, March, 1921, especially page 369.

frequently heard, 'No class will be organized in any subject for which less than (twenty) students enroll'. Such a rule may automatically eliminate Cicero and Vergil from Schools of considerable size, and might banish Latin entirely from smaller Schools.

Often such results come about through no hostility at all on the part of the administration. It may be simply a matter of dollars. When the large groups of students are provided for, whence the money to secure a teacher for little classes in Latin for students who could be taken care of in other subjects with no additional expense?

How are we to convince School Boards that it is not right to deprive their brightest students of the opportunity to study the subjects best adapted to their need, in order to take care of a crowd of students who are aiming at nothing in particular? While this question remains unanswered, and while we are discussing methods of teaching, the deadly work of eliminating Latin goes steadily on. Of course, matters are aggravated when the administration is actively hostile, as may be seen by contrasting the two following cases.

Case 1. A classical teacher was engaged to teach French in a small High School. Arriving on the ground, he found a little demand for Latin, and, with the consent of the administration, withdrew the French, substituted Latin—and enrolled half the School in the course.

Case 2. The scene is another small High School, but with a principal who hates culture and everything pertaining to a University, and who is himself a laughing-stock because of his ignorance of English. A teacher of Latin and Spanish was engaged, whose first choice was Latin. The principal, however, announced that the School in question had no place for Latin, and that all students desiring to study a foreign language must elect Spanish. Hence, there is no Latin in that School.

In regard to these two cases it will be noted that the question of method does not enter at all. On the one side the decisive factor is the devoted teacher, on the other it is a barbarian principal.

It may be claimed, of course, that an extreme program such as Dr. Gray has in mind may tend to flatter the educational 'expert' and placate the barbarian principal. But, if these ends are to be gained only by a wholly unwarranted attack upon legitimate aims and methods in teaching Latin, and in an abandonment of the study of Latin as an end in itself[5], we may well pause to count the cost before entering upon such a program.

It is true, too, that Dr. Gray states (55):

> . . .It is confidently believed that the program proposed for the great majority will be found the best basis for those also who are to pursue their classical studies further and become, as always, the leaders in the realm of thought and literature.

But this is merely the expression of a pious hope (entirely natural to the advocate of a new method), and it carries little conviction to one who is forever hearing the plaints of teachers that they now can scarcely bring their classes through on schedule time, because of the distractions from the business in hand. As a matter of fact, the proposed program seems all of a piece with the general High School policy above noted, whereby the interests of the talented few are sacrificed to the supposed or real needs of the many.

It is earnestly hoped that the American Classical League will early see its way to grapple with the administrative difficulties that now are throttling Latin in many Schools. The problem is a difficult one; but just for that reason it demands the more earnest attention.

In any case, the League will strengthen its position with the classical public, if it will make it clear at the start that its final report will include no bitter and unjustified attack upon the present methods and aims of Latin teaching. A really better program needs only to be advertised, and teachers will be quick to recognize its merits.

In the second place, the disastrous results of hasty reconstruction on the basis of supposed results of educational tests make it very desirable that assurance be given that no attempt will be made to force upon the Schools generally any program that the survey may seem to support. For a period of years any radically new program should be tried out in a very few Schools, including some where the conditions are merely average. If the program justifies itself here, then other Schools may be expected to take it up.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA H. C. NUTTING

[5]The exact meaning of this phrase, and Dr. Gray's treatment of this subject would require more space that can properly be claimed here.

DR. GRAY'S REPLY TO PROFESSOR NUTTING

With regard to the article criticized by Professor Nutting permit me to quote from letters which I wrote to him under the dates of February 11, and March 8.

The article was written over a year ago and accepted for publication by The Classical Journal before I was even a member of the Investigating Committee. It has nothing whatever to do with the Investigation, either theoretically or practically. It represents a purely *a priori* attack upon the problem and expresses convictions that have grown out of experience, although this experience has never been checked up by any scientific study. So far as the relationship of the principles which I discussed in that article to the present Investigation is concerned, it is distinctly that of submitting conclusions reached on deductive bases to tests of an inductive nature. Certainly nothing could be farther from the spirit of scientific research which characterizes this Investigation than that anyone's views previously conceived should in any way direct it or affect it. It is precisely the converse that must inevitably be the case, and I am frank to say that this article, written over a year ago, would, if written today as a purely personal article, undergo considerable modification in the light of evidence that is already accumulating from this Investigation. . . .

Must it be necessary to have an Investigating Committee composed of people who have no convictions? If they are to have convictions, must these convictions be approved of in advance? In that case

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the course of the Investigation would certainly be predetermined. But I wish to disabuse your mind entirely of the idea that I have any fixed convictions which are not susceptible to modifications, revision, or rejection in the light of evidence disclosed. I feel reasonably sure that you have convictions as strong as mine and I feel confident that they are held subject to the same reservation. . . .

I think you will agree with me that the present Investigation does include within its scope precisely what you demand—"an adequate experiment designed to bring out the value of Latin as taught".

There are many points in Dr. Nutting's article with which I entirely disagree, but it does not seem profitable to continue the discussion on the basis of personal opinion, when it is precisely the function of the Investigation now in progress to provide accurate factual data from which sound conclusions may be drawn.

MASON D. GRAY

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

V

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse—XVII, 2, Ueberlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien, Carl Wendel.

American Catholic Quarterly Review—April, 1921, Four Famous Sons of Ceres, Harriette Wilbur; Mediaeval Latin Proverbs, Darley Dale.

American Judicature Society, Journal of the—Dec., Speedy Justice in Ancient Rome, Albert Kocourek [the author holds that the formula system has never been equalled since those days].

Anglican Theological Review—Aug., The Life and Letters of St. Paul, David Smith, reviewed by Frederick C. Grant; A Grammar of New Testament Greek, James Hope Moulton, reviewed by A. Haire Forster; Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament, J. M. Harden, reviewed by A. Haire Forster.

Atlantic Monthly—Oct., The Iron Man, Arthur Pound [an article characterized by The World's Work, Dec., as "a plea for cultural education from another quarter"].

Contemporary Review—Dec., Roman Private Law, W. W. Buckland, reviewed by J. E. G. De Montmorency.

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen—July-September, Opferritus und Veropfer der Griechen und Römer, S. Eitrem, reviewed by Otto Weinreich.

Independent and Weekly Review—Dec. 31, An Unnecessary question, Henry W. Bunn [in this article, under the caption "Cabbages and Kings", the author commends the translation of Lucian by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, and uses an incident from Lucian to illustrate a modern matter]; The Reign of the Revue, Robert Allerton Parker [the author traces the "great tradition" of the Revue, beginning with Aristophanes].

Journal of Education (London)—Nov., The <Prime Minister's> Committee on Classics [correspondence: comment, adverse, on the Committee's Report. "Spectator" takes exception to the statement of this Committee that "Latin and Greek are severe trainers of the observation", and insists that the fact "that such a claim is made for Classics without even a hint that the whole subject is controversial, suggests that advanced classical scholarship is not inconsistent with ignorance of contemporary thought"].

Man—Nov., Les Tombes des Martres-de-Veyre, Aug. Audollent [a discussion of relics of the Gallo-Roman civilization of the first or second century of our era].

Mind—Oct., The Works of Aristotle, in the translation edited by W. D. Ross, reviewed by A. E. Taylor, as follows: Volume X, Politics, translated by Benjamin Jowett [has "notable merits" and "occasional demerits"], Oeconomica, by E. S. Forster, Atheniensium Respublica, by Sir F. G. Kenyon [has fidelity as a translation and excellence as literature].

Nation and Athenaeum—Oct. 29, The Price of Roman Success [unsigned review of Agricola, A Study of Agricultural Life in the Graeco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour, W. E. Heitland. The book is "packed with information. . . . Nothing is more interesting than the discussion of the kind of society that the Republic became under the stimulus of a knock-out victory and unearned wealth. . . . Agriculture ceased to be in the Latin phrase a mother of men from the day when first Rome was flooded with the great indemnities and she learnt how to live on others. Against this fundamental difficulty Roman statesmanship was fighting a losing battle all its life"].—Nov. 12, The New Humanism [the defect of the English educational system, the author declares, is superficiality. "There is scarcely a school of any type that does not neglect English to a degree that is little short of shameful. . . . The places of higher education are limited by the snobbish tradition that the only languages becoming to a gentleman are Greek and Latin, and that ignorance of classics and knowledge of English may be taken as a sign of doubtful social standing". This remarkable statement is followed by three quotations—one from Dean Gaisford and two from F. W. H. Myers—which purport to prove or at least to illustrate it, but which really do not do so in the least].—Nov. 26, The Passing of the Greeks [unsigned review of Histoire de l'Art: L'Art Antique, Elie Faure, which holds that "the so-called golden period of Greek art was no more than an episode in the growth of art", and that "late Greek art", to which the reviewer seems to assign Praxiteles's 'Venus', was "frankly sensuous". The complete statues which we possess are, "relatively speaking, failures", for they fail to "arouse and retain emotion in the open air". The work contains "excellent comparative tables and a series of most intelligent essays on Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman art"].—Dec. 3, Athens and London, H. J. L. [review of Essays and Addresses, Gilbert Murray: "he has always been a fighter in the struggle for liberal-mindedness"]; Some Greek Salvage [unsigned review of New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature: Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Fourth and Following Centuries B. C., edited by J. U. Powell and E. A. Barker; the review, which is largely given over to a discussion of Menander—an article on The New Menander, and Other New Fragments of the New Comedy, by T. W. Lumb, covers pages 66–98 of the book—finds learning and acumen in E. M. Walker's essay on Aristotle's treatise on the "Athenian Constitution", but criticizes unfavorably the choice of material, the failure to supply English versions for all cited passages, and the English written by some of the ten contributors].

Nineteenth Century and After—Dec., Greek in Extremis, A. D. Godley ["The whole future of Greek lies on the knees of schoolmasters"].

Nouvelle Revue—Nov. 15, Monuments Grecs en Sicile, Henry Petiot [concluded from October 15].

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Single copies, 10 cents. Extra numbers, 10 cents each. Back volumes, 1–14, $2.00 each.

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Printed by W. F. Humphrey, 3 [illegible] N. Y

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Of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY published weekly from October 1 to May 31 in each year except weeks in which there is a legal or a school holiday at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
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Before me commissioner of deeds in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles Knapp, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XV, NO. 23 MONDAY, APRIL 24, 1922 WHOLE NO. 419

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 24 MONDAY, MAY 1, 1922 WHOLE NO. 420

INDIRECT DISCOURSE AND THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF ATTRACTION[1]

The purpose of this paper is to discuss certain aspects only of the two constructions named in its title. It will endeavor first to show that the category of Indirect Discourse is much more inclusive than the treatment given to it in most of our Grammars and text-books would indicate; and will then discuss the rival claims which the categories of Attraction and Indirect Subordinate Clause have upon certain subjunctives.

The definitions of Indirect Discourse found in the seven or eight Latin Grammars in common use in this country are in close agreement, and are so worded as to include in this category all words or thoughts that are indirectly quoted; but in the detailed descriptions that accompany the definitions there is wide variation, with a very general failure to include what the definitions logically involve.

With the exception of infinitives with verbs of emotion, considered by some, I think mistakenly, not to belong in Indirect Discourse, there is general agreement as to the limits of Indirect Statements. But there is a strong tendency to exclude from Indirect Discourse all Indirect Questions and Subordinate Expressions of Desire (i. e. of wishing and willing), either spoken or felt, unless these follow, in connected speech, an Indirect Statement, i. e. to draw a sharp line between what is usually called an Indirect Question and a Question in Indirect Discourse, and between a Substantive Volitive or Optative Clause with *ut* or *ne* and a Command in Indirect Discourse. The Grammars of Lane, Gildersleeve and Lodge, and Hale and Buck all recognize the complete identity of the two classes of Indirect Questions mentioned above. Lane, however (§§ 1705–1708), sharply distinguishes Substantive Volitive Clauses with *ut* from those without *ut*, calling the latter coordinate; and with the latter he classifies Commands in Indirect Discourse (2312, c). Gildersleeve and Lodge (652, Rem. 1) vaguely suggest some connection between the two classes of Indirect Command, but Hale (538) agrees with Lane in making a sharp division. The most extraordinary feature of Hale's classification, however, consists in his putting Indirect Statements in one class as main verbs, and everything else, i. e. Commands, Questions, and Subordinate Clauses, in another class, all as Subordinate Clauses (534, 2). It seems to me he would have great difficulty in proving the Indirect Command or Question more subordinate than the Indirect Statement.

But the two Grammars which perhaps are in widest use, those of Allen and Greenough, and Bennett, as well as the more recent Grammars of Burton and D'Ooge, suggest not the faintest connection between Indirect Commands or Indirect Questions which closely follow Indirect Statements and have no special introductory verb, and those which depend directly upon appropriate verbs.

Allen and Greenough (586, N. 2), half recognizing this inconsistency, say that "questions coming after a verb of asking are treated as Indirect Questions even if the verb of asking serves also to introduce a passage in the Indirect Discourse". The quoted phrase, "a passage in the Indirect Discourse", can here mean only 'a statement in Indirect Discourse', and the whole dictum is just as true and just as useless as it would be to say that statements coming after verbs of saying are treated as Indirect Statements even if the verb of saying serves also to introduce a question. The difficulty lies in trying to make two kinds of Indirect Questions that differ only in their immaterial circumstances, exactly as do Indirect Statements, which no one ever thinks of so dividing.

Indirect Commands are in still worse plight. Nearly all our grammarians and commentators refuse to consider Indirect Commands and Requests introduced e. g. by *impero ut* or *postulo ut* as worthy of inclusion in Indirect Discourse. According to them, if we read, 'He said he would come soon and that I should wait for him', this is all Indirect Discourse; but if it runs, 'He told me to wait for him, for he would come soon', the first half of the sentence is not Indirect Discourse at all. It is a Substantive Clause of Purpose or Substantive Volitive Clause, and the Indirect Discourse begins in the middle of the message. This seems to me perilously near absurdity, but the statements of our Grammars and the punctuation and references of our text-books mean just that and nothing else. What seems to me an adequate general statement might run somewhat as follows: When actual words are indirectly quoted, the quotation may begin either with an Indirect Statement, or with an Indirect Command or Request, or with an Indirect Question (after a verb of inquiring or of showing), or with an Indirect Subordinate Clause (as after a verb of blaming or complaining with *quod*); and the whole speech is introduced by a verb or an expression appropriate to the first clause quoted. Thereafter Indirect Statements are usually subordinate to an understood verb of saying, Indirect Questions to an understood verb of inquiring, and Indirect Commands or Requests to an understood verb of commanding or requesting.

[1] This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Hunter College, April 23, 1921.

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As to the use and non-use of *ut* in Indirect Commands and Requests, it can only be said that *ut* is found usually, but by no means always, when the clause is attached to an introductory verb, but is found only occasionally when there is no such verb, as is quite natural. Both usages go back to the earlier paratactic use when *ut* was an adverb, and in the developed forms one is as logically dependent as the other. There seems to be a perfect analogy between these two usages and those illustrated by the two English sentences: 'He said that he would come' and 'He said he would come'.

Indirect Statements after verbs of thinking and knowing are always given equal place in Indirect Discourse with those after verbs of saying, and Indirect Questions after verbs of seeing and knowing are considered Indirect Questions as truly as those after verbs of asking. In like manner *ut*-clauses and *ne*-clauses with expressions of fear should be classed with Indirect Commands and Requests as forms of Indirect Discourse.

All this leads, very naturally and logically, to the ordinary Clause of Purpose; always a quoted thought, always the unexpressed wish that lies behind some action as its motive, it surely belongs in Indirect Discourse, along with all the other *ut*, *ne* subordinate clauses (i. e. all subordinate clauses introduced by *ne* and corresponding positive clauses with or without *ut*), every one of them an Indirect Expression of Desire. For, if the ordinary clause of purpose is not to be included in Indirect Discourse, every authoritative definition of the latter construction that I know of should be revised, and it seems to me a very real advantage to classify together all *ut*, *ne* subordinate clauses as Indirect Expressions of Desire, subdivided into Indirect Commands, Requests, Permissions, Fears, and simple Purposes, with a few other notions of similar meaning not so easily labeled. It may be added that the sharp distinction usually drawn between the adverbial and the substantive clauses with *ut* and *ne* is really not very sharp, and, at best, convenient, rather than important. Such clauses when dependent on verbs like *adduco*, *moveo*, *incito*, or *operam do*, carry the notion not of grammatical object but of direction, which is adverbial, not substantival; while before almost every so-called clause of 'pure' purpose the words *eo consilio* might easily be inserted (and are often found) without making the slightest difference in meaning, and then the clause may clearly be considered substantive, in apposition with the noun *consilio*.

This almost universal tendency to exclude from Indirect Discourse subordinate *ut*-clauses and subordinate *ne*-clauses, and, to a less extent, Indirect Questions would also, quite naturally, tend to prevent subjunctive clauses subordinate to them from being classed as Indirect Subordinate Subjunctives, and they have usually been considered cases of Attraction. The confusion and rivalry between these two categories are of long duration. A century or so ago, in some of the Grammars in common use, there was no such thing as Subjunctive of Indirect Subordinate Clause. Everything was 'attracted', even by the Indirect Statement Infinitive. And even now, with the Indirect Subordinate Clause Subjunctive firmly established as a category in all our Grammars, much confusion still remains.

Roby (1774) puts both Attraction and Indirect Subordinate Clause under one rule, it being "a function of the subjunctive", he says, "to express an action qualifying another supposed or abstractly conceived action", thus claiming the same logical but very vague reason for both constructions, and leaving no room for Bennett's theory of mechanical assimilation or for Hale's theory of a shared modal feeling. Harkness (652) similarly says that "clauses closely dependent on a subjunctive or an infinitive are virtually indirect subordinate", though he presents no arguments for this statement, which seems to me to be very questionable. In Gildersleeve-Lodge (662) we read that "in a more general sense Oratio Obliqua is used of complementary clauses that belong to ideal relations", which, from the context, seems to mean clauses subordinate to subjunctives and infinitives.

Lane keeps the two constructions entirely separate in his definitions, but elsewhere makes no attempt whatever to distinguish between them. He discusses the tenses of subjunctives which, as he says, are "due to another subjunctive or infinitive" (1770) and every one of his ten illustrations is an Indirect Subordinate Clause; eight of them are dependent on Indirect Statement Infinitives. In all our Grammars are found so-called cases of Attraction that are easily explicable as Indirect Subordinate Clauses or as clauses of Characteristic. Of the latter type is one of the three illustrations of Attraction in Bennett's Latin Grammar (324): *quod ego fatear, pudeat?* Another illustration of Attraction, found in the same author's Syntax of Early Latin (1.311), runs as follows: fortunatorum memorant insulas quo cuncti qui aetatem egerint caste suam conveniant. Bennett calls the attracting subjunctive one of implied Indirect Discourse, but surely the subjunctive supposed to be attracted is just as much a part of the quotation as is its superior verb.

The Allen and Greenough Grammar says, in a well known passage (593, N. 2), that in the sentence, *imperavit ut ea fierent quae opus esset*, if the relative clause is part of the thought but not part of the order, the subjunctive is due to Indirect Discourse, but, if it is part of the order, it is due to Attraction. In other words it is more likely to be due to Indirect Discourse if it is not part of what was said than if it is.

A thorough treatment of Attraction was made by Professor Tenney Frank, in his dissertation, Attraction of Mood in Early Latin (Chicago, 1904). This shows clearly that the principle of Attraction, at the period concerned, was only a tendency, there being, for every case of Attraction, one or more of the same sort not attracted, and that the strength of this tendency varied widely for reasons involving both the meaning of the clause and its position in the sentence. He protests very strongly, and very justly, I believe,

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against considering Attraction as a sort of Indirect Discourse. Admitting that in many cases it is difficult to decide between them, he declares that they have very little in common, and that their origins are widely separated, herein differing sharply from Bennett, who sees in Attraction one of the probable sources of the Subjunctive of Indirect Subordinate Clause.

Professor Frank finds that only 35 per cent. of the possible cases in early Latin are attracted, and over half of these he considers due, in part at least, to other influences. A rough count of one hundred pages of Caesar, covering De Bello Gallico 1–5, and an equal amount of Cicero's Orations, including those usually read in preparation for College, gives the following results. In the Caesar there are ten clear cases of Attraction, nine of them subordinate to clauses of result, and two doubtful cases, as against thirty-two of non-attraction. In the Cicero I can find only two clear cases of Attraction (Pro Marcello 3), with six doubtful cases, where some other explanation is perfectly possible, and 107 instances of non-attraction; moreover, one of the two cases counted as clear (Pro Marcello 3) is a *quam*-clause of the type that sometimes takes the infinitive in Indirect Discourse, and so apparently was felt sometimes as coordinate rather than subordinate. If these figures anywhere nearly represent Cicero's general usage, he seems to have rather deliberately avoided the Subjunctive of Attraction.

As to the notion that infinitives outside Indirect Discourse generally attract their subordinate clauses into the subjunctive, it simply is not so. The instances are few and far between; and one slight indication of this may be found in the fact that the Grammars of Allen and Greenough, Bennett, Hale and Buck, Lane, Burton, and D'Ooge, all use the very same sentence as their only illustration.

Nothing has been said so far of that limitation of the principle of Attraction indicated by the fairly frequent use of the terms 'essential' or 'integral part'. But these terms, like the rule itself, merely indicate a tendency, and a rather mild one, at that. True it is that many, and probably the majority, of the attracted subjunctives are essential to the sense, but many are not, and in Cicero, at least, there were found many more essential clauses unattracted than attracted. The one absolutely clear case of Attraction in the hundred pages of Cicero is this: Pomp. 9, cum maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos, quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset. The attracted clause here seems not in the least essential, while 45 of the 107 unattracted indicatives in the same hundred pages are in determinative relative clauses, essential to the thought, e. g. Arch. 5, et erat hoc non solum ingeni ac litterarum verum etiam naturae atque virtutis, ut domus, quae huius adulescentiae prima favit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. So Caesar writes (B. G. 5.39), accidit ut non nulli milites, qui lignationis causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciperentur, where the relative clause is attracted but not essential, and he also writes (B. G. 5.19), Relinquebatur ut. . .tantum. . .noceretur quantum. . .milites efficere poterant, where the relative clause is essential, but is not attracted.

How, then, shall the rival claims of these two constructions be settled when the conflict comes, as it always does, in subjunctives subordinate to indirect questions, commands, requests, permissions, fears, and purposes. On the one hand is Attraction, with its failures far outnumbering its successes; natural enough, but illogical; a tendency only, and one which the great master of Latin style seems rather successfully to have resisted. On the other hand is the Indirect Subordinate Clause, which, whatever its origin, has come to be felt as a definite and almost imperative reason for the subjunctive, since most of the apparent exceptions are easily explained as not intended to be part of the quoted thought or speech. But both explanations are clearly possible, and the unreasoned feeling of each intelligent reader may well be allowed to influence his decision. If any one feels sure that a subordinate clause in a command after *impero ut* is attracted into the mood of its superior verb, and that a subjunctive after *iubeo* and an infinitive is attracted by that infinitive or by the subjunctive that might have been used with a different verb of ordering; and if, when Caesar says (B. G. 5.5) he feared a disturbance in Gaul while he was away—cum ipse abesset, motum in Gallia verebatur—if, I say, any one feels that the *cum*-clause is attracted from the future indicative of the original thought into the subjunctive by the subjunctive that might have been used in place of the accusative case, he cannot be proved wrong. But, when the evidence and the arguments are all weighed in the balance, I am constrained to believe that the beam will tip rather heavily toward the Indirect Subordinate Clause.

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THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY AGAIN

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.49–50, 57–58, 65–66, 13. 145–147, 153–154, 161–162, 169–170, I dealt with various recent translations of the Classics, and especially with volumes of the Loeb Classical Library. It is time to note various additions, made within the last year or so, to this Library.

First, then, mention may be made of Volumes 8, 9, and 10 of the translation of Plutarch's Lives, by B. Perrin. Volume 8 contains the lives of Sertorius and Eumenes, Phocion and Cato the Younger, and a rendering of Plutarch's Comparison of Sertorius and Eumenes. In Volume 9 we find the lives of Demetrius and Antony, Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius, in Volume 10 the lives of Agis and Cleomenes, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, Philopoemen and Flamininus. For reviews of Volumes 6, 8, 9, by Professor Roger Miller Jones, the reader may consult Classical Philology 13. 399–401, 16.298–300. For notices in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY of earlier volmues see 7.192, 12.58, 13.146–147.

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Volumes 2–3 of Professor Charles Forster Smith's translation of Thucydides have appeared. Volume 2 covers Books 3–4. It contains two maps, one of Central Greece and Peloponnesus, the other of Pylos and its Environs. Volume 3 covers Books 5–6. There are maps of The Battle of Amphipolis, Sicily, and the Siege of Syracuse. For a notice of Volumes 1–2, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.162.

Volume 2 of Senecae Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales, by Dr. Richard M. Gummere, has appeared. This covers Letters 66 to 92. There is an Appendix (472–473) which presents some new readings found in the Codex Quirianus (Q), a manuscript of the ninth or the tenth century, which was published at Brescia, by Achilles Beltrami, in 1916. The manuscript includes Letters 1–88. Dr. Gummere's competence to deal with Seneca is well known; for some evidence of it see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.125–128 (reviews of five books dealing with Seneca); 14.93–94 (a review of Francis Holland, Seneca); 14.154–160, The English Essay and Some of its Ancient Prototypes.

The second and concluding volume of the translation of Martial, covering Books 8–14, by Mr. Walter C. A. Ker, has appeared. There are several Indices, covering both volumes: Index of Proper Names (535–544); Index of First Lines (545–568). Mr. Ker has included also, on pages 520–531, the text and a translation of some twenty-two pieces, most of them short, ascribed to Martial, especially by a certain Hadrianus Junius Hadrianus (Adrien de Jonghe, 1512–1575) was a Dutch physician and scholar, who wrote commentaries on Plautus, Horace, Petronius, Seneca, and Martial. He was Rector of the College at Harlem. Of the first volume of Mr. Ker's translation of Martial I gave several specimens in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 169–170.

We turn now to a translation, in two volumes, of The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto, with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, and Various Friends, by C. R. Haines. The statement on the title page that this correspondence is "edited and for the first time translated into English" must be amended to read 'for the first time translated completely into English'. Mr. Haines himself, in his Bibliography, 1. xliv-xlv, and in The Classical Review 34. 14–15, refers to translations into English of parts of the Correspondence.

Mr. Haines has himself constituted a new text, chiefly on the basis of the labors of Edmund Hauler; for these there is a full page of references, in the Eibliography (xlvii-xlviii).

In his Introduction, Mr. Haines deals with the ups and downs of Fronto's fame, until the discovery, by Cardinal Mai, in 1815, and later, of portions of a palimpsest manuscript of Fronto; with parts of the manuscript itself; with investigations covering twenty years or more which Dr. Edmund Hauler of Vienna has devoted to the manuscript; and with the references to Fronto in later Latin writers, etc.

Mr. Haines takes great pains (xxix-xxxii)to defend Fronto from the criticisms that have been passed upon him because of his love of archaism. Here, it seems to me, he has suffered from rather serious confusion. This appears from the following paragraph (xxix):

> It has too hastily been assumed that he slighted the great writers of the best age, except Cicero and Sallust, and totally ignored the silver age authors except Lucan and Seneca. But he constantly imitates Terence, recognizes the literary eminence of Caesar and quotes him with approval, calls Lucretius sublime, quotes him, and ranks him with his prime favourites, quotes Horace, whom he calls *memorabilis*, more than once, shows an intimate knowledge of Vergil, and borrows from Livy. He also shows some acquaintance with Quintilian, Tacitus and Juvenal.

Mr. Haines might have profited a good deal from two studies, in English, of Aulus Gellius (perhaps, however, these papers are not easily accessible in England). One is a paper, Archaism in Aulus Gellius, which I contributed, in 1894, to the volume entitled Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler (126–171). The other is a Columbia University dissertation, by Dr. W. E. Foster, entitled Studies in Archaism in Aulus Gellius (privately printed in 1912). In my paper (126–141), I discussed more fully, I venture to think, than had been done before, or has been done since, the history of that archaizing tendency which culminated in the second century A. D., under the influence, on the one hand, of the Emperor Hadrian, and, on the other, of Fronto. I wrote there especially of Aulus Gellius (of whose relation to Fronto Professor Haines says not a word). In that discussion I made it plain that the 'ancients', or, as Gellius himself calls them, the *veteres*, were ever with Gellius, and that they formed for him the final court of appeals on all matters relating to grammar, lexicography, or literary criticism (126–129). I then showed (129–138) who were meant by the *veteres*. For Gellius himself, they included preeminently Plautus and Ennius among the poets, Cato Censor among the orators. Among other writers whom Gellius esteemed may be mentioned Caecilius, Lucilius, Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, Varro, Sallust, Cicero, Vergil, all of whom belonged to a time long prior to his own. In all this Gellius was in harmony with Fronto. The point Mr. Haines seems not to have realized was, that, to Fronto and to Gellius, Cicero himself, Vergil and Sallust, Cato, Terence and Plautus belonged to the *veteres*, to the *antiqui*. We have only to study Mr. Haines's own Index of Names to confute him, and to support what I wrote long years ago. Cato Censor, Plautus, Sallust, Terence figure there far more than does Horace or Vergil. There is no mention at all of Martial, or Ovid, or Tibullus, or Propertius, or Pliny the Younger. In my paper, I noted that the strife between the *veteres* and the moderns was as old at least as Horace and Sallust, that throughout the first century A. D. the moderns reigned supreme, but that in the second century, especially under the influence of Hadrian and Fronto, the archaists gained the upper hand. I noted also that in Hadrian's time the archaizing tendency in Greek art was strong and that even in literature, among the Greeks, the self-same archaizing tendency made itself felt. On page

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138 I showed, by Fronto's own words, his bias toward the archaic writers. For Fronto as an archaist I may refer, now, to M. Schanz, Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur, Dritter Teil[2], page 102 (Munich, 1905). Finally, on pages 139–141, I considered the relation of Gellius to Fronto. My conclusion was that Fronto exercised a considerable influence upon Gellius, but that Gellius was not a pupil of Fronto, because there are important differences between the two men.

Dr. Foster had something to say (4–6) of the "intense archaizing fervor which characterized the literary spirit of the second Christian century".

In the paragraphs cited above from Mr. Haines, we have the statement that Fronto "showed an intimate knowledge of Vergil". One would naturally infer from this that the Correspondence of Fronto itself shows this knowledge. It does not do so, at least not unmistakably (see Mr. Haines's own Index of Names, 2.344, under Vergil). Mr. Haines himself supported his statement not by quotations from Fronto, or by a reference to his Index, to form part of Volume 2, but by a reference, in a footnote, to Gellius 2.26. There, certainly, in §§ 11 and 18, Fronto shows a good knowledge of Vergil. But we may note, what Mr. Haines should have noted, that there, in the same breath with Vergil, Fronto cites Ennius and Pacuvius (12, 18).

To Professor Haines's Bibliography may be added my own discussion of Fronto, referred to above, and that of Dr. Foster. Of the book by Miss M. D. Brock, entitled Studies in Fronto and his Age (Cambridge University Press, 1911), Professor Haines says (xlv), ". . . the whole book is most helpful to the student of Fronto and his literary claims". However, Dr. Foster (11–14) found it necessary to take issue, rather sharply, with Miss Brock at several points.

Professor Haines arranges the correspondence in what he believes to be chronological sequence. He dates the letters by years. One very sensible thing done by him must be strongly commended. He prefixes to each letter a reference showing where the letter may be found in the edition of S. A. Naber (Leipzig, Teubner, 1867). This is important, because references to Fronto, in our dictionaries and handbooks, so long have been made by Naber's edition.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that, in The Classical Review 34.14–18 (February-March, 1920), Professor Haines published an excellent article labelled simply Fronto. This deals briefly with the life and work of Fronto, and seeks to show, by quotations in English, some of the characteristics of the correspondence.

Of Professor A. M. Harmon's excellent translation of Lucian mention was made in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.223, 12. 50. Volume 3 has now appeared. This contains translations of

The Dead Come to Life, or The Fisherman; The Double Indictment, or Trials by Jury; On Sacrifices; The Ignorant Book-Collector; The Dream, or Lucian's Career; The Parasite, Parasitic an Art; The Lover of Lies, or The Doubter; The Judgment of the Goddesses; On Salaried Posts in Great Houses; Index.

Professor Carleton L. Brownson, College of the City of New York, has published a rendering of Xenophon, Hellenica 6–7, and Anabasis 1–3. The book also contains an Index to the Hellenica (495–514), and a map showing The March of the Ten Thousand.

The second volume of the translation of Plato, by Professor H. N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University, has appeared. This contains a translation of the Theaetetus and the Sophistes.

In one volume we find a translation of Callimachus and Lycophron, by A. W. Mair, Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University, and of Aratus, Phaenomena, by G. R. Mair, Headmaster of Speers School, Heath. The authors hope that the volume "will be found helpful as an introduction to the Alexandrine literature". For each author translated there is an Introduction, dealing with his life, his works, the manuscripts, and kindred matters, and a bibliography. In this respect the volume is far superior to most of the volumes in the Loeb Classical Library, and sets an example to be followed in the rest of the Library. The pieces of Callimachus translated include Hymns, Epigrams, and various Fragments (Aitia, Lock of Berenice, Branchus, Hecale, etc.). The Phaenomena of Aratus is translated. Students of Lucretius and more especially of Vergil ought to welcome this version. Cicero, when *admodum adulescentulus*, translated this work. Germanicus Caesar, nephew of Tiberius, also made a version of it, of which 857 lines survive. Lastly, the volume contains a version of the Alexandra of Lycophron.

A most welcome volume, especially to the student of Roman comedy, is one by Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University: Menander—The Principal Fragments. The General Introduction (vii-xxxi) deals with the Transmission of Menander (ix-xi), Life (xii-xv), The New Comedy in Menander (xv-xix), Greek Vocabulary and Style (xix-xx), Sources and Legatees (xx-xxi: among the "Legatees" are Plautus and Terence). Then follow discussions of The Extant Writings(xxiii-xxiv), The Text (xxv-xxvi),Bibliography (xxvii-xxxi).

In this volume, too, as in the Callimachus-Aratus-Lycophron volume, the Introduction is a serious piece of work.

The pieces translated are the following:

The Arbitrants (1–127); The Girl from Samos (130–193); The Girl who Gets her Hair Cut Short (197–281); The Hero (284–305); Fragments From Sixty-Seven Identified Plays (308–461); An Unidentified Comedy (464–473); Selections from Unidentified Minor Fragments (476–535).

The translations of the minor fragments are, often, in prose. Professor Allinson felt himself at liberty (viii) to treat each of these as a unit, "versifying those only which seem more vivid in verse". In the verse-portions of this translation, he uses the "*six*-stress iambic verse". This he admits to be somewhat unfamiliar to English ears (viii-ix), "but the continuity of the Greek, often unbroken from line to line, seems to him to be thus more easily reproduced as a *tertium quid* between prose and verse".

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Professor Allinson declares, finally, that "he has not felt at liberty to try to make the English more racy than the original by introducing tempting, but anachronistic, modern colloquialisms that would obscure the *milieu* of Menander". He gave, at greater length, his views about translation in a paper entitled The Transvaluation of Greek and Latin, read before the meeting of The Classical Association of New England, at Brown University, on April 7, 1916. An abstract of the paper appeared in the Eleventh Annual Bulletin of the Association, 11–12. Professor Allinson distinguished transvaluation from translation; the former must include, in addition to the bald content, other elements, such as the form, style, and environment of the original. To him the versions of Aristophanes, by Rogers, seem on the whole a happy combination of both purposes. Professor Allinson urged further that the main purpose in translating the Classics should be to transvaluate antiquity, not to write modern literature.

(*To be concluded*)

C. K.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

Under dates of November 1, December 1, and January 1, Professor George M. Whicher, of Hunter College, New York City, who is this year Professor in charge of the School for Classical Studies, part of the American Academy in Rome, sent News Letters to Mr. C. Grant La Farge, head of the Academy. It is the first time copies of such Letters have been sent directly to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY.

Professor Whicher and Professor Nelson Glenn McCrea, of Columbia University, who is Annual Professor for 1921–1922 in the School of Classical Studies, reached Naples on August 1. After a short stay at Sorrento and Capri, they went to Rome. Later, in the summer, they made a visit to Florence and inspected the Etruscan remains in the Museum there. The programme of work for the first two months of the School, October and November, followed the usual scheme, utilizing the fine weather of the autumn for excursions to sites in Latium and Etruria, and for visits to Museums under expert guidance.

Professor Whicher has been particularly active in an effort to unite the aims, and, whenever possible, the activities of the two Schools that form the parts of the Academy—the School of Fine Arts and the School of Classical Studies. He reports with special pleasure that one of the Classical Fellows, Miss Ernestine P. Franklin, has already undertaken to collaborate with Mr. Hafner, Fellow in Architecture, in making a restoration of the Basilica of Constantine. He continues as follows:

"The Italy-American Society of Rome, with the encouragement of the Ministry of Public Instruction and under the patronage of the American Ambassador, is undertaking to establish a Summer School for Americans. I was invited to join the Committee formed for this purpose, but, in view of the Academy's plans for the same end, it did not seem advisable to accept the invitation. However, I have attended the meetings and given the Committee the best advice at my command. It seems to me probable that our own efforts to establish a Summer School might best take the form of cooperation with the work of this Committee".

The roster of the School for the current year is as follows: Fellows of the Academy, Dr. W. R. Bryan, Professor W. S. Messer (of Dartmouth College), Miss Ernestine P. Franklin; Sheldon Fellow (Harvard University), Harry J. Leon; Registered Students, Miss Josephine Abel, A. E. Finkler, Mrs. H. Y. Chase, Mrs. C. F. Urie, Professor Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Professor Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Professor Cleveland K. Chase, Hamilton College, Professor J. G. Winter, University of Michigan, Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Columbia University, and Professor J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College.

Dr. Bryan has been steadily at work on his monograph on Hut Urns, and has gone to Perugia, Assisi, and other Etruscan centers to pursue his investigations. Mr. Leon went to Naples at the end of October to engage in research in the Library there, in accordance with directions received from Professor Rand. Assistant Professor Curtis, of the Academy, in addition to his series of Museum lectures, has been engaged in reading the proofs of a monograph on the Cults of Campania, by former Fellow Roy C. Peterson, a task of considerable difficulty. The volume will contain some four hundred pages and will be the first number of the new series of Papers and Monographs of the Academy.

The period from November 7–11, which had been purposely left open, that students might be free to go on special trips before the winter came on, proved to be specially inclement: "There was snow on the Sabine Hills; rain, cold winds, and cloudy days in all parts of Latium, indeed all over Italy". Professor Showerman gave two lectures, The Earliest Men of Latium, and The Earliest Men of Rome, which are, in effect, chapters of his projected book, Eternal Rome. To get additional material for his course on the Building Materials of Ancient Rome, Professor Whicher visited Carrara, Seravezza, and Pietrasanta, the chief centers of the marble industry of Italy. He collected specimens, and took photographs for lantern-slides. He has also been investigating the possibility of securing for the Academy a representative collection of marbles and allied building materials, including not only those found in the ruins of ancient Rome or now incorporated in her structures, but specimens as well from the quarries and the marble-working centers of modern Italy and Greece. The Academy has an opportunity, he reports, if the necessary money can be found, to make a start by purchasing a collection of over 1,000 pieces, about four by three inches in size, carefully polished and labeled by a Roman gentleman who for many years has studied the subject with great care.

Professor McCrea began, in December, a course of lectures on The Aeneid of Vergil as a Poem of Italian Nationality.

Alone, or in company with Professor McCrea, Professor Whicher, in December, visited and studied the quarries of travertine at Bagni di Tivoli, of peperino at Marino, of tufa on the Via Salaria and Monte Verde, of Pozzolana at Salone, and the extensive cuttings for brick-clay in the so-called Valle dell' Inferno. He also made photographs and gathered specimens, wherever possible.

Dr. Messer is at work on a paper, The Relation of the Scaenae Frons to Pictorial Representations in Roman Art. Other activities centering in the School are studies in Etruscan Art, by Dr. Shear, in Roman Costume, by Mrs. Shear, in History and Art, by Professor and Mrs. Chase, and in Greek Papyri from Egypt, by Professor Winter.

There is cordial cooperation between the School and the British School at Rome, and with the Italian scholars. In December, Dr. Giuseppe Lugli gave three lectures, in Italian: The Villa of Domitian at Castel Gondolfo; The Camp of the Legio II Parthica at Albano; The Villa of Horace in the Sabine Hills.

C. K.

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THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

Scholarship Awards

The twenty-third award of the Scholarships of The New York Classical Club was decided by competitive examinations held Saturday, January 14, 1922, at Hunter College.

The winner of the Latin Scholarship is Rosalie Kant, of Hunter College High School, with 86%. Honorable mention was won by Theodore St. Croix, of Curtis High School, and Goldie Terr, of Hunter College High School.

The Greek Scholarship goes to Jennie Rochmis, of Eastern District High School, who made 86%. To the same School belong the pupils who made honorable mention, Isadore Glaubiger and Yetta Samuels.

This is the eighth time that Eastern District High School has won the Greek Scholarship. Her nearest rivals are Wadleigh High School and Erasmus Hall High School, with two victories each. On the Latin side, it is the third victory for Hunter College High School, which has been surpassed only by Erasmus Hall High School, and Morris High School, with four victories each. Curtis, Jamaica, and Newtown High Schools follow farther down the list.

The Latin Scholarship amounts to $150, the Greek to $75. They are awarded to those pupils in the Public High Schools of New York City who have completed the four year course in Latin, or the three year course in Greek, and who on entering College continue the study of Latin or Greek.

The Latin Scholarship, which was established in 1910, and the Greek, which followed in 1915, were at first awarded annually on the basis of Regents' examination records. In 1919 the Club founded its present Scholarship Fund, and has since awarded its Scholarships semiannually to the winner of special competitive examinations of its own, which are similar to the so-called Comprehensive tests set by the College Entrance Examination Board.

HARWOOD HOADLEY, *Chairman,*
Committee on Award of Scholarships

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The New York Classical Club held a meeting on February 18, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A report from Dr. Harwood Hoadley, Chairman of the Scholarship Committee, was followed by an entertaining talk by Professor Walton B. McDaniel, of the University of Pennsylvania, on the subject of his wanderings through Italy and Greece. Dr. McDaniel, bred, as he jocularly explained, to be a teacher of Latin, though born to the nobler career of vagrancy, showed in delightful manner how he had combined his two vocations on the occasion of his European rambles. He has discovered many traces of the Greece and the Italy of antiquity in the Greece and the Italy of to-day, thanks to his process of getting close to (human) nature, as he follows little-travelled paths on (and off) donkey-back, and comes into close contact with the peasantry, in the third-class compartments of the railroads, and even in their own homes. In consequence he has made discoveries not included in Cook's tours or in Baedeker's Manuals: he has found Greek olive-presses like those in use two millennia ago, and Italian plows like those which Vergil knew; he has seen Etruscan frescoes come to life; and he has recognized old superstitions, such as that of the evil eye. Above all, he has grown to know the people of both nations: the courteous, intelligent Italian, and the curious, argumentative Greek. He has met the womenfolk, too, who are more in evidence in Italy than in Greece, and the children, whom he found obstreperous and fun-loving in Italy, but shier in Greece. The address was accompanied by pictures which partook of the humor and vividness that characterized the speaker's words.

HUNTER COLLEGE E. ADELAIDE HAHN

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS
VI

New Statesman—Oct. 15, The Sons of Columella, Edward R. Pease.—Oct. 22, The Sons of Columella, V. Scholderer.—Oct. 29, The Sons of Columella, Edward R. Pease; The Sons of Columella, Vernon Rendall.—Nov. 5, The Farmers and the Combines and the Sons of Columella, W. M. Crook; Jane Austen's Scholarship, R. W. Chapman [a most interesting series of letters, such as one finds far more frequently in English than in American periodicals, dealing with Mrs. Dashwood's remark in Jane Austen's Sense and Sensibility, Chapter XIX, "Your sons will be brought up to as many pursuits, employments, professions,and trades as Columella's"; Mr. Pease in his original letter asks for the exact meaning of this remark, and Mr. Chapman settles the matter by showing that the reference is to an English work called Columella, by Richard Graves, not to the Roman writer].—Nov. 5, Essays Classical and Modern, F. W. H. Myers, anonymously reviewed ["The work of a fine and catholic spirit"].

New York Times—Dec. 25, Rome's Stoic Emperor after Eighteen Centuries, Charlotte B. Jordan [a review of Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Life of Marcus Aurelius; the book is described as a "discriminating study" with "countless little humanizing touches"; Marcus is compared to Washington and to Lincoln]; Herodotus of Fishermen, Henry Van Dyke [a review, continued by an anonymous writer, of William Radcliffe, Fishing from the Earliest Times. The book is "learned, curious, entertaining and instructive", "a most remarkable collection of well-digested data on fish, fishing and the instruments used. . . . a book on ancient habits, on old literatures, on mythologies. . . . There is a section devoted to Greek and Roman fishing", including Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, the two Plinys, Martial, Theocritus, Plutarch, Appian, Athenaeus, Aelian, Ausonius, and Archimedes].

Phi Beta Kappa Key—Oct., To Love, James Poyntz Nelson [a rhymed translation of an ode of Anacreon].

Revue Archéologique—Oct., Le Prétendu Tombeau Antique de Neuvy-Pailloux, Adrien Blanchet; Commerce du Plomb à l'Époque Romaine d'après les Lingots Estampillés, Maurice Besnier; Observations sur Valentin et le Valentinisme, Salomon Reinach; Sostratos de Cnidi et la Vertu des Formules Invisibles, W. Deonna; reviews, by S. R. (= Salomon Reinach), of the following: La Chlamyde Grecque Étudiée sur le Modèle Vivant, Heuzey; Le Blessé Défaillant de Crésilas (in Plato, Republic 4, 106.1); Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine, Tome II, R. Cagnat and V. Chapot; Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, Vol. II, Sculpture and Architectural Fragments, Stanley Casson, with a section upon the terracottas, by Dorothy Brooke; Recherches sur l'Éphébie Attique et en Particulier, sur la Date de l'Institution, Alice Brenot; Die Exegeten und Delphi, Avel W. Persson; La Rome Antique, Histoire-Guide des Monuments, L. Homo.

Revue de l'Histoire des Réligions—May-June, Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults, J. Rendel Harris, reviewed by J. Toutain.

Revue de Philosophie—Aug., Compendio di Storia della Filosofia Greca, E. Zeller, Tradotto da Vittorio

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Santali [in this Italian version of Zeller's standard work, the text of the original is closely followed and faithfully rendered, and the appended bibliography of Greek philosophy is good, though not complete].

Revue Universitaire—Nov., Pour le Grec, Marcel Espy; La Sixième et la Grammaire Latine, Gustave Leprince; Chronique du Mois, André Balz [France is undergoing a "crise de l'enseignement secondaire", doubtless in part precipitated by the Great War, but, according to many, the logical outcome of the adoption of the "programmes de 1902", utilitarian and 'encyclopedic' in their character, a revision of which is now demanded. These three articles all oppose the encyclopedic quality of the present course of study, and the first two strongly favor a return to the older, classical type of education. The first attributes the glory of France to the high ideals produced by the study of antiquity. The second article stresses the importance of the beginners' class in Latin, and the desirability of accuracy rather than rapidity, of quality rather than quantity. The methods used in teaching Modern Languages should not be applied to Latin: "l'enseignement du latin s'infecte de methode directe"].

Rivista di Filosofia—June, Platon und Sokrates, Carl Siegal, reviewed by G. M. [Plato's treatment of Socrates is less the description of a philosophic life, than the philosophic description of a life].

The Saturday Review—Dec. 3, E. B. M. [a brief letter, applying Juvenal 10.77–82 to the present state of England].

School and Society—Dec. 31, A Study of 1,000 Errors in Latin Prose Composition, C. W. Odell.

Scientific American—Jan., Recent Discoveries in Greek Lands [a sketch, based on Discovery in Greek Lands, F. H. Marshall. For a review of the book see The Classical Weekly 14.166–167].

Scottish Geographical Magazine—Oct., Geographic Aspects of Tradition, Rachel M. Fleming [the article stresses the dependence of early man upon his geographic background. There is some slight reference to the Greeks].

Spectator—Dec. 3, Verissimus [an unsigned review of Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Life of Marcus Aurelius, which is called "delightful"].

The World's Work—Dec., Education for What? [an unsigned editorial, commenting on the article, The Iron Man, by Arthur Pound, in The Atlantic Monthly, Oct.].

Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, XV. 2 (1920)—Vom Altertum zur Gegenwart. Das Gymnasium und die Neue Zeit [author not given], reviewed by Max Dessoir.—XV. 4 (1921), Kunstcharaktere Südabendländischer Völker, Otto Höver [the first part deals with the Dorians and the Ionians, the second with the Italians]; Schiller und die Griechische Tragödie, Melitta Gerhard, reviewed by Erich Aron.

Hunter College E. Adelaide Hahn
Helen H. Tanzer

IS THE 'RICOGNIZIONE DEL CADAVERE' A SURVIVAL OF A PAGAN CUSTOM?

Professor Eugene S. McCartney, in The Classical Weekly 15.128, maintains that the 'Ricognizione del Cadavere', as described by The Chicago Tribune, of January 22 last, is a survival of a pagan custom. He invites teachers of Vergil to compare it with Aeneid 6.505–506: Tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem constitui et magna Manis ter voce vocavi.

Without entering into a discussion of the significance of the *conclamatio* as practised by the Greeks and the Romans, may I say that the declaration that we have in the Ricognizione a survival of the *conclamatio* seems to me unconvincing? I might accept it if it were demonstrated that the circumstances are exactly parallel, or if we could point to a traditional proof in favor of it. Is the parallel of the situations so striking? The scene described by the Chicago Tribune is evidently meant to be a recognition of the death of the Pope by a duly appointed official: the Cardinal calls the Pope three times by his name, and, receiving no answer, says to the bystanders, 'The Pope is really dead'. This ceremony takes place shortly after the death, and is entirely independent of the funeral, which may be held several days later.

In Aeneid 6.505–506, we have the erection of a cenotaph and the calling of the Manes, which we may interpret as an invitation to the soul of the dead to come and occupy the tomb erected in his honor. Are not the situations entirely different?

St. Michael's College,
Winooski Park, Vermont J. M. Herrouet

PROFESSOR McCARTNEY'S REPLY

In my note I did not mean to imply that there was any similarity except in the calling of the name of the departed three times. The writer of the article on Funus in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities says that the conclamatio is "a custom still in use at the death-bed of a pope". Is it at all essential in the case of a survival for the situations to be exactly alike?

Northwestern University Eugene S. McCartney

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 161st meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday evening, March 3, with twenty-two members present. The paper, presented by Professor L. A. Post, of Haverford College, dealt with the Epitrepontes of Menander. After mentioning the fact that the high estimate of the art of Menander which was held by antiquity had suffered eclipse since the discovery of substantial portions of his plays, Professor Post made a warm defense of the dramatist. He gave a complete analysis of the plot of the play under discussion, and praised the plot, characterization, situations, and humor. The paper closed with a sparkling translation of the entire play, so far as we have it.

The 162nd meeting was held on Friday, April 7. Fifty members and guests were present. Professor William Romaine Newbold, of the University of Pennsylvania, gave an illustrated account of the famous Cipher Manuscript of Roger Bacon. This manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation. Not the least remarkable feature of it lies in the drawings, in color, with which it is copiously illustrated. A study of these drawings seems to show that Bacon possessed both the telescope and the microscope, and that he anticipated by centuries modern discoveries in astronomy and biology. To all this Bacon joins much speculative philosophy and astrology.

The manuscript defied all attempts at decipherment until Professor Newbold discovered the key to the unbelievably complicated cipher, and succeeded in reading considerable portions of it. The very letters of which the cipher is composed are themselves made up of other letters almost microscopically small, and all functioning in the structure of the cipher.

B. W. Mitchell,
Secretary

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Barnard College, Columbia University

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VOLUME XVI

NEW YORK
1922-1923

Part II of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, Volume XVI, No. 27, Whole No. 450, May 21, 1923

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The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Monday, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.
Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, No. 3 MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1922 WHOLE NO. 426

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, No.8 DECEMBER 4, 1922 WHOLE No. 431

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE METAMORPHOSES OF OVID

(*Concluded from pages 27, 34, 42, 51*).

VII. TEUFFEL AND SCHANZ

It would be an unpardonable shortcoming to fail to mention two German works on Latin literature in general which, of course, deal with Ovid.

Teuffel, W. S. History of Roman Literature, revised and enlarged, in a fifth edition, by Ludwig Schwabe, and translated by George C. W. Warr. 2 volumes. (George Bell and Sons, London, 1891-1892).

For Ovid see 1.492–508. For the Metamorphoses see 1.500–502. Though over thirty years old, and though a sixth and, in part, a seventh edition of Teuffel's work, in German, have appeared, this English version is still an important book. The newer editions treat the literature far less exhaustively than was done in the fifth edition, of which the English version is a translation. The chief value of Teuffel's work lay not in his judgments about Latin authors, but in the skill with which he assembled, first, all the important ancient information concerning an author, his life, his works, and the esteem in which he was held, and, secondly, bibliographical information about editions, manuscripts, special discussions of the authors, and kindred matters.

Schanz, Martin. Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur[2]. (C. H. Beck, Munich, 1911). This is Volume VIII, Part II, first half, of I. Müller's Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.

For some informing remarks on this work, as well as on Teuffel's, by Professor Hadzsits, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15. 107–108. Schanz's discussion of Ovid covers pages 264–341; the treatment of the Metamorphoses is to be found on pages 315–327. What Schanz has to say of Latin authors is much better than what Teuffel says; the bibliographical material is well selected, and, while not exhaustive, ample.

VIII. OVID'S MYTHOLOGY

Of great value to the student of Ovid is

Gayley, Charles Mills. The Classic Myths in English Literature and Art[2]. (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1911).

This is an admirable book. In Part I (1–463), the ancient classical myths are given; in the Commentary (465–540) explanations and notes of various kinds set forth attempts to interpret the myths; they show, too, what use has been made of them by authors and painters. There are two Indexes: an Index of Mythological Subjects and Their Sources (543–581), and an Index of Modern Authors and Artists (582–597).

IX. ARTICLES ON SPECIAL TOPICS

I name now some articles of a more restricted application than those cited above, pages 25–27, 33–34.

Breazeale, Elizabeth. Polyptoton in the Hexameters of Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil. Studies in Philology (University of North Carolina), 14 (1915), 306–318.

This paper was intended as a supplement to one by Professor George Howe, of the University of North Carolina, entitled A Type of Verbal Repetition in Ovid's Elegy (University of North Carolina Studies in Philology 13 [1916], 81 ff.). This paper I have not seen. Professor Howe, it would seem, set out to determine whether a certain sort of verbal repetition was peculiar to the elegy, or was to be found also in all the other poems of Ovid. Miss Breazeale then made a similar investigation of Lucretius and Vergil, to compare or to contrast, as the case might be, their usage with Ovid's.

On the subject of the use of repeated words in the Aeneid, and, more particularly, of their metrical treatment, I had something to say in the Introduction to my edition (§§ 263–266). The general subject was treated by Professor H. Mc N. Poteat, of Wake Forest College, North Carolina, in an article, The Functions of Repetition in Latin Poetry, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.139–142, 145–150 (March 10, 17, 1919). On page 147 Professor Poteat defined polyptoton as "the repetition of a word in different cases or forms, in the same connection". As examples he cited Ennius, Annales 493 Qui vincit non est victor nisi victus fatetur, and Furius, Annales, Pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, viro vir.

In her examination, Miss Breazeale took the line, not the sentence, as the unit. Examples of a simple type involve the occurrence within a line of one word in two different forms. More complex examples involve the occurrence of three words each in two different forms, or of one word in three different forms (compare the citation made above from Furius), or of two words each in different forms. Examples of the complex sort are the following:

hic vidisse deus, videt hic deus omnia primus,

and

carmina digna dea; certe dea carmine digna est.

These are taken from Metamorphoses 4.172 and 5.345. Examples of the different sorts are gathered exhaustively by Miss Breazeale, and often discussed interestingly.

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The facts massed together bear out one's expectation (317) that

. . .the frequency of occurrence of any effective form of repetition, as indeed of any effective device of rhetoric, would be greater in Ovid's verse than in that of other Latin poets with whom he might reasonably be compared.

Finally, Miss Breazeale notices (317–318) that

. . .It was the common experience of Lucretius, Vergil, and Ovid that the emphasis sought was best achieved by placing the first member at the end of the first half-line, and the second member between the extremities of the other. That Ovid, who experimented so much more extensively than did the others, found no better arrangement is evidence that, in spite of the possibility, which he proves, of great variety of treatment, there is nevertheless a controlling principle in the rhythm of the line itself which he must obey as well as the others.

Haight, Elizabeth Hazelton. An 'Inspired Message' in the Augustan Poets. American Journal of Philology 39 (1918), 341–366.

The 'Inspired Message' which she has in mind Professor Haight characterizes, repeatedly, for the sake of brevity, as the Apollo-Sibyl-Augustus theme. This message (347)

sought to emphasize the Apollo cult and the prestige of the Sibylline oracles; to disassociate the Sibyl from the Tarquins and associate her in the popular imagination with Aeneas, the Julian gens and Augustus; and often to identify Augustus with Apollo, and to interweave the exaltation of Apollo-worship with the Imperial theme.

Professor Haight traces the part that Vergil, Tibullus, Horace, Ovid, etc., played in all this. Ovid's relation to the theme Miss Haight discusses on pages 360–366. She emphasizes the extent to which Roman stories, beginning with that of Aeneas and ending with reference to Caesar and Augustus, figure in Metamorphoses 13–15. On page 361 we read:

. . .in all these stories of the Trojan War, Ovid seems to be leading up to a climax of the imperial theme, though with no such unity or emphasis as Vergil's Aeneid shows. In fact, at the end of the fifteenth book the great imperial passage seems hardly a climax, rather an afterthought. But there it is, and in the list of Rome's triumphs Actium finds its place <15.826–828>. . . ; and among the gods of Rome, not only Aeneas's Penates and the di Indigetes appear, but also Apollo, in the Palatine shrine <865>. . . .The prayer to all the gods is to vouchsafe long the favor of Augustus's presence before he shall join the heavenly ranks <868–870> . . . .The Metamorphoses ends on the Aeneas-Apollo-Augustus theme[1].

On page 365, a very interesting suggestion is made in the following words:

. . .I am inclined to think, however, there is adequate evidence that in Ovid's own mind hovered a suspicion that one contributory cause for his exile was his satirical allusions to Apollo in his early poetry[2], and that it was well to conciliate the Emperor by appeals on behalf of his later religious writing, the Fasti, and in the name of Apollo and his Palatine temple. Certainly, in this later work, Ovid in his allusions to Apollo, the Sibyl, the Palatine, and Caesar is in line with the other poets of the age.

Rand, Edward Kennard. Milton in Rustication. University of North Carolina Studies in Philology 19 (1922), 109–135.

This delightful paper, which it is impossible to summarize here, is full of interest to a student of Vergil and to a student of Ovid.

C. K.

[1] I may note that the place of the Sibyl in the Aeneid was discussed in a very suggestive way by Professor Laura C. Green, in her paper, Exsequitur Praecepta Sibyllae, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.177–181 (April 15, 1918).

[2] Professor Haight discusses this point on pages 362–364, in connection with Ars Am. 2.493–512, 3.113–148, 389–390, Rem. Am. 487–492, 75–78.

SOME CLASS-ROOM ECHOES[1]

After all the excellent things that we have been listening to during these sessions, it may seem a trifle sordid to come down from the splendid views on the mountain tops to the plain, every-day plowing and planting, but you will all agree that the processes of plowing and cultivating are indispensable, even if they are not always thrilling. If, after thousands of years of tilling the soil, scientists and agriculturists are still studying and searching for better methods of farming, surely we teachers of the Classics may still strive to discover more efficient methods of inculcating a working knowledge of the languages that have been the vehicle for the expression and transmission of so much that is vital in history, literature, and law.

I shall discuss briefly and informally two or three topics relevant to the teaching of first-year Latin, in the hope that some teacher may find something in this that she can combine with her own methods, and use in the class-room. To some of you what I shall say may seem trite, to others, crude, especially to those who teach in Colleges and are accustomed to dealing with more mature students and with those who are in a sense a select group, compared with the pupils that we have in the High Schools. Very little of it is new, and the most that I have done is to organize or condense it into a form adapted to use in my own class-room, where I have found these devices helpful.

The first thing I wish to mention is a simple diagram for the teaching of tenses by stems, a method that is pretty generally used, I believe, in teaching verb-forms, at least in this locality.

TENSES	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
Present Imperfect	Present stem	Present stem
Future	- ō (-m) -mus - s -tis - t -nt	- r -mur - ris -mini - tur -ntur
Perfect	Perfect stem	Participial stem +
Pluperfect		an adjective ending +
Future Perfect		some form of the verb *sum*.

[1] This paper was read at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at the University of Pittsburgh, April 29, 1922.

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This 'block', or 'apartment house', has proved helpful, especially to younger pupils. The upper half, of course, represents the present system, embracing the first three tenses of the indicative and the present and the imperfect subjunctive; the lower half represents the perfect system, embracing the remaining tenses. The middle column covers the active voice, and the right-hand column the passive. It has been estimated that 75% of the errors in translation have to do with verbs; if a pupil understands his verbs thoroughly, he can usually take care fairly well of the remainder of the sentence. Every teacher knows how frequently mistakes are made in verbs in Latin composition, and so this little device can be made to perform a real service by starting the pupil right in forming the tenses. In an eighth-year class last year we had a delightful time imagining that there were four families living in this 'apartment house', but that they were kept strictly to their own apartments, and, though the families were all related, the children, *-r*, *-ris*, *-tur*, *-mur*, *-mini*, and *-ntur*, were never allowed to enter any apartment but their own, and, if they were ever found in any other, they were to be sent home at once. This fancy and the accompanying diagram of the stems tend to prevent such atrocities in formation as *portaverantur*, *vidissemur*, which most of us have seen so many times on students' papers or have heard in class. Several times during examinations I have seen a puzzled pupil stop and sketch this 'block' roughly on paper and find the correct word for which he was struggling. In teaching semideponents, I draw this diagram and then obliterate the upper right-hand section and the one that requires the perfect stem, leaving the other two as a guide for conjugating such verbs.

While we are speaking of tenses, I am going to confess that I have recently made bold to draw my pencil through two of the meanings given for the imperfect tense in most Latin beginners' books, and at first teach only the English past progressive form to be used in translating the imperfect, thereby preventing the pupil from getting the impression so prevalent among Latin students even in the third and the fourth year that the imperfect is the usual equivalent of the English past. After the pupils have become thoroughly accustomed to using the Latin *perfect* for the English past (for I also strike out the 'have' when introducing the perfect), then and only then do I teach them that *ducebat*, for example, may mean 'he led (repeatedly)' or 'he used to lead'. I believe that every editor explains this in his book, but in spite of this explanation the pupil generally persists in using the imperfect for all phases of past time, if he learns all these meanings when the imperfect is introduced. In my opinion, the second semester is quite early enough to teach these less common translations, after the ordinary ones are thoroughly familiar.

The other subject that I wish to speak of is participles. Now I do not remember having any special difficulty with them, for I was brought up on Patterson's English Grammar, and before I ever studied Latin I was on pretty familiar terms with such standbys as "Resting near the rippling stream, we sat and mused" and "Having finished our tasks, we went home". But you can imagine my horror when I discovered that our High School boys and girls of the present generation have little or no knowledge of participles; that they scarcely use them at all in conversation, and that, if they ever use them in writing, it is usually in a sentence something like 'Looking from the cliff across the water, a small boat was struggling desperately among the breakers'. This need not seem strange to us, however, when we consider that most of them have had scant training in technical grammar—in fact, the very term is almost 'Verboten' in modern educational circles; correct forms are to be acquired and assimilated by some subtle process of painless absorption brought about by reading the modern magazines! When I began to teach, I thought the pupils would learn and master participles by studying the explanations in the text-book and the examples given in class, but usually their condition after several lessons resembled that of the struggling boat in the aforesaid sentence. So I found it necessary to evolve some more definite method by which the student could extricate himself from the mazes of a sentence containing one or more participles.

In the first place, I insist on his being absolute master of a table of participles, including the English participles for which there is no exact Latin equivalent, as they help to keep him out of difficulties in dealing with the ablative absolute;

PARTICIPLES

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
Present	mittēns, mittentis, 'sending'	'being sent'
Future	missūrus, - a, - um, 'about to send', or 'going to send'	Ger. mittendus, -a, - um, 'to be sent' (implies necessity or obligation)
Perfect	'having sent'	missus, -a, - um, 'having been sent'

The pupil is taught to build each participle according to a formula. I think two or three lessons may profitably be spent on mastering this table; various pupils may be required to give the participles of verbs of different conjugations and of irregular verbs like *fero*. Thorough drill here takes away most of the terrors of periphrastics when they are taken up later. Next, we learn the properties and the declension of the participles and their relative time. When we are ready for sentences, we use what we call the 'six-step method' and follow an outline. Each pupil writes down this outline and is required to adhere to it closely until habit makes the steps suggest themselves almost automatically. The outline follows:

(1) Point out the participle and classify it according to the table.
(2) Give its literal meaning.
(3) In what case is it and with what word does it agree?
(4) Has it an object or any modifiers? (Look for them *before* the participle, usually between it and the word with which it agrees).

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(5) Attach these to the literal meaning of the participle and insert this phrase in the sentence immediately after the English word with which the participle agrees.

(6) Change the English participle into a verb, making either a subordinate clause or a compound predicate, and translate the sentence smoothly.

To illustrate, let us take the sentence Milites suas domos fortiter defendentes ab hostibus occisi sunt. (1) *Defendentes* is a present active participle and (2) means 'defending' or 'protecting'; it is (3) in the nominative or the accusative case and agrees either with *domos* or with *milites*: testing them both with its meaning, we see at once that it must be 'soldiers defending'; (4) being the present participle of a transitive verb in the active voice, it requires an object, which we find in *suas domos*, and plainly *fortiter* is an adverbial modifier; (5) combining these, we have 'defending their homes bravely'; and inserting the phrase after 'soldiers' gives us 'The soldiers defending their homes bravely were slain by the enemy'; (6) this may be recast in various ways to secure a smooth translation, such as 'The soldiers who were bravely defending their homes were killed by their enemies', or 'The soldiers were slain by enemies while they were defending their homes bravely'. The last step is the one that we stress most, because it is the real test of the pupil's comprehension of the meaning, and because students are too often permitted to offer translations that are a travesty on the term and are mere aggregations of words. When I studied Caesar, I thought that if there was a participle in the Latin sentence it had to be rendered by an English participle. I was scrupulously careful to make it modify the proper word, but you can picture the appalling result when I attempted such a passage as the closing sentence of B. G. 1.8, which begins Helvetii, ea spe deiecti, navibus iunctis, etc. To aid the pupils in smoothing translations, I give them the customary list of words that may be used in converting participles into clauses, such as when, since, although, as, while, after, if, that, who, because.

Perhaps this method seems cumbersome or even painful to you who have been accustomed for years to understanding a participial phrase at a glance, but the ordinary student in first-year Latin or in Caesar is a long way from such swift comprehension; and I can say that most of my pupils have experienced far less difficulty in translation since we adopted this tangible outline for handling participles. Naturally, after they have felt their way through a number of sentences by using this plan, they learn to eliminate some of the steps, or at least pass over them half unconsciously, and grasp the thought by a more rapid process of reasoning.

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REVIEWS

Marcus Aurelius. A Biography Told as much as may be by Letters, Together with some Account of the Stoic Religion and an Exposition of the Roman Government's Attempt to Suppress Christianity during Marcus's Reign. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. New Haven: Yale University Press (1921). Pp. 309.

For those readers, no small number, I venture to think, who find history most assimilable in the form of biography, and most delectable when the biography is composed of well chosen letters and critically sympathetic interpretation, Mr. Sedgwick's volume on Marcus Aurelius will provide a welcome addition to a favorite book-shelf. And those who are wont to search out the individual controlling preoccupation which variously molds all modern historical writing and which must be weighed in any estimate of the results of such writing will find, in this case, that inevitable factor recognized and revealed by the author himself. In his brief Preface he speaks of the book as intended

> to provide those people for whom the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius contain a deep religious meaning, with such introductory information about him, his character, his religion, and his life, as I think, judging from my own experience, they may desire.

And in the Introduction he affirms our similarity of situation to-day with that of Marcus Aurelius and the other Stoics, confronted with a world of "maladjustments of all sorts" (12) and with the need of a philosophy or a religion, created, as the Stoics created one (13), "out of the world as their human senses saw it", of "some doctrine, some rule of action, that shall serve as makeshift to occupy the empty place which the sense of awe should occupy" (12). For that sense of awe, although indisputably "der Menschheit bestes Teil" (11) "lies beyond the reach of human will" (12), and there are "empty times", "barren moods", when we must have something that is within reach of our will.

> And it is not impossible, nor yet unlikely, that the principles underneath Stoic philosophy may still be of service today, to teach the pilgrim soul to find that support within himself which he does not find without.

Such a strong informing purpose is apt to increase the chances for an effective and readable book in more ways than one, and furnish valuable by-products, whether or not it convinces the reader exactly as the author planned. In this case it contributes, I think, a vigor, a vitality, a warmth, which should carry the book far and give it a strong hold on permanence. Mr. Sedgwick's conviction that Marcus Aurelius's spiritual problem is our spiritual problem is worth any amount of mechanical 'modern parallels' in helping us to lay hands upon the men and the women of whom he writes. We do lay hands on them, from Zeno, who "was to his generation what Carlyle was to our fathers" (24), down to the handsome baby boy uplifted in his father's arms before the soldiers of the northern battle front. An astonishing number of individuals move, vigorously or graciously, through these few pages, yet without jostling. Once more, as in his Short History of Italy, Mr. Sedgwick has achieved simultaneously brevity without scantness, fullness without confusion.

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His art is not the meager definition of the outline drawing. Rather, like the etcher, he gives us the very contour and texture of living human flesh without any sharp definition at all. Many a ponderous and pretentious Life and Times has less right to the title than this slender volume of some two hundred and fifty pages of text. In these days when classicists are called upon to do what they can for students unable or unwilling to study Greek and Latin, and when increasing pressure of other prescribed subjects constrains even students especially interested in those languages to take short cuts to breadth and background, a book of this sort is invaluable. Intelligible to those who have scarcely any other contact with the subjects treated, it is well worth reading for those better equipped, as every fresh grouping and relating of familiar facts and theories is bound to be. The explanation of the treatment of the Christians in the reign of Marcus Aurelius might seem rather disproportionately long and insistent. But the author has found "modern Christian scholars" blaming the Emperor "for what they term the persecutions that took place in his reign", and a refutation of any serious impugning of Marcus Aurelius's character and conscience is of course quite germane to the purpose of the book.

A noteworthy and gratifying feature of the work lies in its Appendices and its Index. The latter, although confined almost entirely to proper names, is really enlightening, so carefully are the connections of the several occurrences of these names indicated. Seldom do we see so brief a book so carefully indexed. Appendix A devotes ten pages (258–268) to an exposition of the physics and the metaphysics of the Stoics, enough, in the opinion of the author, to enable the reader to understand the allusions to those subjects in the Meditations. Appendix B gives four pages of characteristic sayings of Epictetus, usually in the translation of Hastings Crossley. Appendix C is a classified bibliography, of six pages, of authorities, ancient and modern, on Stoicism, on the biography of Marcus Aurelius, and on the early Christians. Appendix D (279–299) gives authorities for specific statements in the text, arranged in corresponding order and divided by chapters, said statements being clearly identified by a few words and by their page numbers. If anyone is disposed to take issue with Mr. Sedgwick for accepting the Scriptores Historiae Augustae for Marcus's virtue and rejecting them for his wife's lack of it, I can only point out, as he does, the confirmatory evidence in the one case and the contradictory evidence in the other, with a reminder that Faustina's detractors "belong to a later time after Commodus had filled to overflowing the cup of cruelty and ignominy, so that even decent people could not believe that he was really the son of Marcus Aurelius". Appendix D also furnishes translations of all passages in a foreign language occurring in the text without translation there. This includes the French with which Mr. Sedgwick has chosen to represent the occasional Greek phrases of the Letters. Altogether, we seldom see a popular book, however serious, so impressively and effectively documented, and we should be commensurately grateful.

There is a strong temptation in the pencilled margins of my copy to quote the passages which seem particularly happy or particularly significant, but any choosing would be unjust to Mr. Sedgwick's wellnigh infallibly lucid and charming style. I will content myself therefore with citing two of his comments on the Meditations, the second of which shall close my review as it closes the main part of the book (257).

> And yet the *Meditations* express something more elemental than the self-communings of a man who has eaten the bread of life and found it bitter and drunk of the cup of life and found it vanity; they suggest the psychical record of a soul that down in its unconscious depths is sensitive to the first tremors of a universal commotion. It is the book of a man who buckles his armor on to meet invisible evils, as well as those that he can see. Some delicate instinct within him, like that of migratory birds, shivered at the first touch of autumnal chill which heralded a winter that should strip the Roman oaks of all their glory.
>
> His *Meditations* reveal his constant endeavor to keep himself unspotted by sin; and so religious are they in their holy purity, so akin in temper, if not in doctrine, to the thoughts of Thomas à Kempis, that one must keep firm hold of the fact that this was no anchorite, no monk, who had turned his back upon the world, but a valiant Roman, soldier and statesman, whose energy, wisdom, courage, and perseverance propped up a tottering world.

BARNARD COLLEGE GRACE HARRIET GOODALE

The Manuale Scholarium. Translated by Robert Francis Seybolt. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1921). Pp. 122. $1.50.

The Manuale Scholarium, which is of unknown authorship, was first published in 1481. Although it takes the form of a conversation between two students of the University of Heidelberg who discuss many aspects of College life, it is in a way a medieval counterpart of contemporary ' Y. M. C. A. Hints for Freshmen'.

The translation is a pioneer piece of work, since, as Professor Seybolt tells us (12), no rendering has ever been printed in any modern tongue. The Latin text may be found in Zarncke, Die Deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter (1857).

Obviously an effort has been made to restrict the annotations to a minimum. They are scholarly and succinct, but quite ample for one at all conversant with student life in medieval times. The stranger in this field can readily acquire a little medieval atmosphere by running through a book quickly and easily read, R. S. Rait, Life in the Medieval University, especially the chapters on College Discipline, 49–93, University Discipline, 94–108, and The Jocund Advent, 109–123. A fuller exposition is to be found in Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, which contains a chapter on Student Life in the Middle Ages (2.593–712).

It would seem that the medieval freshman was more verdant (if possible) than contemporary freshmen. At all events he was made to appear so. He

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was called *beanus* or *bejaunus*, i. e. 'yellow-bill' (*bec-jaune*)[1]. The name BEANVS was represented acrostically, Beanus Est Animal Nesciens Vitam Studiosorum.

One inevitably picks out chapter two, which deals with an initiation, as the most spirited and interesting part of the book. Upper-classmen pretend that they smell an odor and ascribe it to a *beanus* who is represented as an animal with oxlike horns, boar-like tusks, and a nose like an owl's beak[2]. To remove these unnatural excrescences by an operation, rough and ready instruments are employed. In view of the danger of the surgery a priest is called to shrive the patient. The beanus is charged with all sorts of heinous offences and as a penance has to provide the means for a 'spread' for his new teachers and fellow-students.

During the entire ordeal pedagogical sympathy is with the freshman, since he has stated that he came to the University *studii causa* (Zarncke, 3). The modern freshman, however, would regard this merely as additional evidence of greenness.

The Latin text is anything but Ciceronian, so that delicate distinctions cannot always be made on the basis of differences in syntax. Fortunately the meaning is clear for the most part. The translator is more concerned about reproducing ideas than about syntax and has hit upon some neat renderings. The English is spirited and readable, catching much of the atmosphere of the original. Occasionally, however, it seems to me that the translation merely approximates, or even errs: e. g. quando dicebas me ac te ipsum diligere, "when you said that we should esteem each other" (64). In classical Latin we should expect *pariter* or some such word before *ac*. The clause clearly means 'when you said you loved me as much as <you did> yourself'. Laetare habeasque iocundam horam is rendered 'Take heart and be happy' (28). *Horam* should be emphasized, since only an hour of happiness remained for the novitiate. At the end of that time he was to be operated on for the removal of his excrescences.

An interesting problem is presented by two sentences which I quote, with Professor Seybolt's renderings (63): Camillus: Nosco te verbis multum efficere, re autem ipsa vel parum vel nihil, "I know that you say a great deal, but actually you do little or nothing". Bartoldus: Utinam mihi in rem foret, non multum abesset quin manibus te impeterem atque verberibus afficerem, "Would that it were so, and that I weren't on the point[3] of laying hands upon you and beating you". In *verbis* and *re* we have the familiar contrast between words and action. It seems to me that *rem* in Bartoldus's retort picks up *re* of the jibe, 'Would that as regards action it were in my power', i. e. 'Would that I had liberty of action and that I were just about to punch and pummel you'[4].

[1] "Vox Gallica *Bejaune*, quasi *Bec-jaune*, ut sunt aviculae quae nondum e nido evolarunt".—So Du Cange, s. v. Beanus.

[2] The technical word for initiation, *depositio*, refers to the laying aside of the horns. This was necessary for matriculation.

[3] Obviously the rendering of *non multum abesset* is inaccurate.

[4] If one should make a bigger break between the two clauses, using an exclamation mark or even a semicolon, the first clause would be tantamount to a protasis in a condition contrary to fact, i. e. 'If I had liberty of action, I wouldn't be far from punching and pummeling you'. Compare Vergil, Aen. 4.678–679, and Professor Knapp's note there.

The Manuale Scholarium quotes Ovid, Ars Amatoria 3.653–654, leaving out a word in the first line and dropping off at the end of the second line three words necessary for the sense. In the translation (69) these lines are rendered in full without any typographical indication of the omissions in the medieval text.

For the classicist who is sticking strictly to his last the history of ancient education ends with T. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire[5]. The Manuale Scholarium does, however, have some classical echoes, notably in the mention of sophisms, which must have been as valueless as those in the Roman schools of declamation. Just before the operation on the initiate one of the students hurries to an apothecary for some pills for the patient. As he returns his friend exclaims, in mock-heroic style, Quam velociter vestigia retro observata legisti (Zarncke, 7). It seems clear that this harks back to Aeneid 2.753–754, vestigia retro observata sequor, where Aeneas retraces his footsteps in his efforts to find Creusa.

To the extremely useful bibliography might be added A. F. Leach, The Schools of Mediaeval England, and H. S. Denifle, Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.

The book is attractive and dignified in its format. In view of the fact that the translation is a pioneer piece of work and that the original is a model of how not to write Latin, Professor Seybolt is to be congratulated on the success with which he has completed his task.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

A Short History of Antioch. By E. S. Bouchier. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1921). Pp. XII + 324.

The author says in his Introduction that he is "quite conscious that such a book, like its predecessors on ancient Spain, Syria, and Sardinia, will be open to a charge of superficiality". His point that the specialists in history have delimited their fields so narrowly, and have set up such forbidding boundary stones, and shoot a nonspecialist so full of holes if he poaches on their territory, is, one is fain to believe, well taken. The reviewers' tendency of late years seems to have been toward finding the little faults. This is right enough, but should not exclude pointing to good results in the large.

One might guess that Mr. Bouchier, when he was working up material for his Syria as a Roman Province (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.46–48), found considerable Antioch by-product on his hands. He simply has marketed it too fast. If he had thrown away a good deal of poor stuff and made more of the good, of which he has plenty, he would not have laid himself so openly liable to the charge of superficiality.

Antioch was a "boom" commercial city, as the result of its choice by Seleucus as his capital, and was destined by its wealth, its position, and its lack of

[5] For a review of this book, by Professor C. C. Mierow, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.110–111.

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national or municipal tradition to be a bone of contention. Its Daphne, five miles down the Orontes, a beautiful sacred shrine, became the most famous of the Eastern festival centers, and then degenerated into the most luxurious and lascivious of Mediterranean resorts.

The author rightly finds in the many earthquakes and landslides a reason even greater than the ravages of barbarians for the obliteration of ancient Antioch. The city had two wonderful centuries as the capital of a Diadochian military monarchy, as hastily sketched in Chapter II. In Chapters IV and V there is nothing much of consequence. Heresies of the early Church, the work of the Antiochene School, and struggles between the Church and paganism are treated with a certain amount of latitudinarianism in the next two chapters. In the rest of the book the author deals with the Persian and Arab conquests, the loss by Antioch to Damascus of its Metropolitan rank, the decay of the Caliphate, the Byzantine rule, and finally devotes two chapters to the Latin State under Norman princes, until its destruction at the hands of the Mameluke Egyptians in 1268 A. D.

All in all, the book is a not uninteresting and valuable collection of none too accessible facts, its superficiality being only thinner in some places than in others.

RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The Home of the Indo-Europeans. By Harold H. Bender. Princeton: The Princeton University Press (1922). Pp. 59.

Professor Bender finds the home of the Indo-Europeans in Lithuania. To reach this conclusion he first rehearses the familiar arguments in favor of Europe rather than Asia and for Eastern or East Central Europe as against the West. Then he undertakes a further limitation to the region between the Baltic and the Black Sea on the ground that here lies a fairly sharp geographical division between the *centum*-languages and the *satem*-languages; if we assume a series of migrations from elsewhere, we must suppose that the primitive "alignment was lost and later miraculously restored". Finally, he urges, the "biological principle of adaptive radiation" calls for the greatest conservatism of type near the center of the region over which a species is distributed and the greatest variation at the ends of the radii. The central locality of greatest conservatism should be the place where the species developed and whence it spread. Now, Lithuanian is the most conservative of the modern Indo-European languages, and so Lithuania, Professor Bender thinks, was probably the home of the Indo-Europeans.

Neither of the new arguments seems to be of great weight. The treatment of the Indo-European palatals and velars, upon which the division between *centum*-languages and *satem*-languages is based, constitutes one of several groups of correspondences[1] variously distributed among the historical languages, and several of these may plausibly be thought to rest upon dialectic differences dating from Indo-European times. All such correspondences taken together indicate that in general the Indo-European languages retained about their original relative position as they spread over parts of Europe and Asia; they tell us nothing about the region from which the spread began. To be more specific, the *satem*-languages (or the *satem*-dialect) as a whole may have moved eastward from some point in Western Europe before the *centum*-languages began to spread, or the *centum*-languages may have led a migration westward from Asia or Eastern Europe.

As to the other new argument, it is disappointing to see biological analogy again imported into linguistic science. There is a conceivable reason why the environment which causes—or permits—the development of a species should tend to keep it unchanged while individuals that migrate into a different environment are exposed to new causes of mutation, but no such reason exists in the case of language. Besides, Lithuania lies, not at the center, but near the northern edge of Indo-European territory.

The truth is that with the evidence now at hand a discussion of the original home of the Indo-Europeans is scarcely profitable. We can prove that Indo-European speech was brought at comparatively late dates into India, Greece, and Italy. We know that Phrygian was not indigenous to Asia Minor and we are reasonably certain that British Celtic came from the mainland. But these observations merely cut off a few of the outposts of Indo-European speech as the dawn of history found it. The original home may have been almost anywhere else within the territory then occupied.

Several general considerations, however, should be insisted upon. They are mentioned or implied by Professor Bender, but one may wish that he had been more consistent in following them out. (1) Indo-European speech has no necessary connection with race. There is to-day no racial unity among the speakers of Indo-European, and there may never have been. Consequently boastful talk about the superior energy and intelligence of the "Indo-European race" must be consigned to the same limbo as the idyllic Indo-European family with its protector-father, supporter-brother, and milk-maid-daughter. The conclusions of comparative philology have little or no bearing upon ethnology and anthropology. (2) Conversely, ethnology, anthropology, and archeology have nothing to do with the Indo-Europeans as such. This term is, and should be kept, purely linguistic. As Professor Bender says, it is "difficult to determine from the examination of a skull or a stone axe what language their owner spoke in life". (3) The spread of Indo-European speech must have taken a very long time. At the earliest period which we can control by the comparative study of the historical languages Indo-European must already have covered a wide territory—many times greater than the region where Lithuanian is now spoken. Before that time lies the boundless unknown, during which Indo-Euproean speech may have been

[1] A list of these may be found in Meillet, Introduction à l'Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-européennes², 408 ff.

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carried from Asia to Europe and back again several times over.

EDGEWATER, N. J. E. H. STURTEVANT

AMERICAN CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE REVISED ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT

The commemoration, on October 1, 1922, of the fiftieth anniversary of the first meeting held by the American Committee for the Revision of the English Bible should remind students of philology of the great achievements and the intellectual power of a generation of American scholars which has passed away. The mere list of the names of the men who composed "The New Testament Company" will suggest most impressively the wealth of scholarship produced under the system of education which prevailed a century ago:

Chairman, The Rev. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, Formerly President of Yale College; Secretaries The Rev. Joseph Henry Thayer, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., Charles Short, Professor of Latin in Columbia College, Ezra Abbot, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Divinity School of Harvard University, The Rev. Jonathan Kelsey Burr, Trenton, N. J., Thomas Chase, President of Haverford College, The Rev. Howard Crosby, Ex-Chancellor of the University of New York, The Rev. Timothy Dwight, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Divinity School of Yale College, James Hadley, Professor of Greek, Yale College, The Rev. Horatio Balch Hackett, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y., The Rev. Charles Hodge, Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., The Rev. Asahel Clark Kendrick, Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester, N. Y., The Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Delaware, The Rev. Matthew B. Riddle, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., The Rev. Philip Schaff, Professor of Sacred Literature, Union Theological Seminary, New York, The Rev. Henry Boynton Smith, Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York, The Rev. Edward Abiel Washburn, Rector of Calvary Church, New York.

The problem of the revisers of the English translation of the New Testament was not simply to offer a more accurate translation of a traditional Greek text; they were obliged to establish a new text from which to translate. The Authorized Version of King James I was based largely on the Greek edition of Stephanus itself reproducing the text of Erasmus, who used inferior manuscripts. Now, the three oldest manuscripts we possess, Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, dating between 300 and 450 A. D., were not accessible in 1611 to the scholars who prepared the King James Version. The contributions of nearly three centuries of patient study of the results achieved in the fields of criticism, general philology, and archaeology had to be utilized. Furthermore, the revisers were obliged to consider not only the changes that had taken place in the English language in the course of three centuries, but also the fact that the beauty and the simplicity of the style of the older version had endeared it to the hearts of the faithful and made its phrases a part of the spoken idiom of the great Anglo-Saxon race. The surprising fact to be noted is not the dissimilarity but the similarity of the two translations.

UNION COLLEGE GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG

ILLINOIS HIGH SCHOOL CONFERENCE, 1921

On November 17–19, 1921, The Illinois High School Conference was held, under the auspices of the University of Illinois, at Urbana, Illinois. The Proceedings of that Conference were published by the University of Illinois in the University of Illinois Bulletin, Volume XIX, No. 21 (January 23, 1922). An account of the proceedings of the Classical Section will be found on pages 113–135. The papers presented were as follows: Observations on the Teaching of Classics in Secondary Schools, H. C. Morrison (113–116); The "Laboratory Method" of Teaching Latin—Is It Coming or Going?, C. Russell Small (117–120); On Teaching Second Year Latin (Caesar), Miss Buhrman (120–122); Some Ways of Arousing and Holding Interest in Latin, Effie E. Case (122–126); Progress of the Classical Investigation, H. L. Carr (127–132); Cum Movēmus, Commoveāmus, Bessie M. Darby (132–133: this is an account of the way in which the Latin Department of the High School at Quincy, Illinois, endeavors to make itself felt in the School—to make itself "just as live and necessary to the school as the Athletic or Dramatic Dept."); The Use of Latin Games in the Teaching of Latin, Ethel M. McBroom (134–135).

C. K.

HOLY NIGHT

Sancta nox, alma nox!
En te permeat alba lux,
suave ubi vigilat parens
ad cunas pueri sedens,
quem cepit sopor urgens
divinus superûm.

Nox silens, innocens!
Lux post nubila defluens!
Audit pastor ab angelis:
"Salve, Rex hominum, venis!
Iesus Christus adest! O
Iesus Christus adest!"

Sancta nox, nulla vox!
Duc me, stella, beata lux!
Eoi veniunt magi
Regi ut dona ferant vagi.
"Iesus Christus adest! O
Iesus Christus adest!"

Nox silens, innocens!
Mirum sidus, ades favens!
Cum laeto licet angelo
cantem, "Gloria Regulo!
Iesus Christus adest! O
Iesus Christus adest!"

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, NO. 15 MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1923 WHOLE NO. 438

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, No. 15 | FEBRUARY 5, 1923 | WHOLE No. 438

MR. FRANKLIN ON THE DERIVATION OF CERTAIN WORDS

Elsewhere in this issue (114) is printed a paper entitled A Study of the Derivation of 5,000 Words from Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book.

In view of the special attention that for some time past has been directed to the general subject of the classical element in our English vocabulary, and in view more especially of the insistence laid in certain quarters upon the doctrine that we ought to teach Latin primarily with a view to strengthening the English vocabulary of our students, and their general mastery of their (supposed) mother tongue, I am glad to give space to this paper by Mr. Franklin.

Mr. Franklin is a graduate student of The Johns Hopkins University, and a High School teacher of Latin. His paper is the result of a study undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Edward F. Buchner, Head of the Department of Education at The Johns Hopkins University.

The publication of Mr. Franklin's paper in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY must not be interpreted as in any sense an endorsement of the views expressed therein. To be quite frank, I do not know what value those views really have. Before attaching much value to them, I should want to know several things.

First, I should like to know whether any great importance is to be attached to the list of words given by Professor Thorndike in his monograph, The Teacher's Word Book.

I quote now from Professor Thorndike's Preface (iii), to show how his list was obtained:

> The Teacher's Word Book is an alphabetical list of the 10,000 words which are found to occur most widely in a count of about 625,000 words from literature for children; about 3,000,000 words from the Bible and English classics; about 300,000 words from elementary-school text books; about 50,000 words from books about cooking, sewing, farming, the trades, and the like; about 90,000 words from the daily newspapers; and about 500,000 words from correspondence. Forty-one different sources were used.

Secondly, as I read Mr. Franklin's paper, I questioned his statement that a "conservative estimate would place the vocabulary of pupils entering the Junior High School at 5,000 words or more". I thought I had read that Shakespeare's vocabulary did not exceed 8,000 words. Too high an estimate of the vocabulary of pupils entering the Junior High School, with correspondingly excessive deduction from Professor Thorndike's list, might well make a very great difference in the results of such an investigation as Mr. Franklin's.

An expression of the foregoing doubt was made by letter to Mr. Franklin. He declared, in reply, that all the available reports of the testing of vocabularies of pupils of the age referred to supported his claim. He stated that it was his understanding that Shakespeare's written vocabulary was in excess of 15,000 words. But this, he says, is aside from his point. His statement had reference to the passive, not to the active, vocabulary of Junior High School pupils. He does not claim that they are qualified to use 5,000 words in writing, but that they are able to recognize understandingly this number when they meet them in their reading. He doubts if their active vocabulary would exceed 600 or 700 words.

In the letter which I sent to Mr. Franklin, I argued also that, if the pupils had to learn somehow or other the 5,000 commonest words, it would seem to me worth while to make a study of the genesis of those 5,000 words. Mr. Franklin's reply was that I had misunderstood the purpose of his study. He would justify Latin, he says, on the ground that it will prove the source of 50 per cent of the new words which the pupil must master in High School (I take this to mean, the new words over and above the initial 5,000). A study of the first 5,000, he adds, is now being made in another University. He says that he does not see that it would be of any value in connection with his own study, the purpose of which he feels he has stated clearly enough in the paper itself. Plainly, he treated his own study as a completely isolated thing. I doubt if the best results—or if good results—are to be got in that way.

I notice that Webster's Collegiate Dictionary was used as the "final authority in locating the sources of the words". Why was not the Century Dictionary used? This whole matter of etymologies and of the sources of words is one beset with pitfalls, even for the most competent authority in the field of comparative philology or linguistics; the rest of us ought to walk very humbly in such fields, and we should use only the best available authority. Further, in my judgment, in addition to the best available printed anthority, the best living authorities should be used, to check or to supplement, as the need shall be, what is in print. Such living authorities are few, always, in any one country, in the field of etymology, and their services are hard to enlist in such work as Mr. Franklin's; they are busy with forms of real research. Yet, work unchecked by them has little, if any, value.

In the last paragraph of his paper Mr. Franklin states that "the Latin percentage in the least frequent group exceeds that in the most frequent by only 4.6%". This is a misstatement of a sort I have seen elsewhere in articles of this type, a misstatement due to a curious misunderstanding of a simple mathematical

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situation. 51.9% is, *numerically, by mere count*, only 4.6% greater than 47.3%. Yet, in actual fact, for practical purposes, 51.9% of anything is nearly 10% greater than 47.3% of the same thing. Plainly, a man who has $51.90 has nearly 10% more money than a man who has only $47.30. It has been said repeatedly that statistics can be made to prove anything. The possibilities along this line become all the greater—and more serious—if statistics are interpreted in defiance of simple elementary mathematical considerations and principles.

Plainly, in such a study as Mr. Franklin undertook, there were—and are—more things involved than were dreamt of by him in his philosophy—or, it would seem, of the Professor of Education for whom he prepared the paper.

C. K.

A STUDY OF THE DERIVATION OF 5,000 WORDS FROM THORNDIKE'S TEACHER'S WORD BOOK

The study here reported was made to determine, in terms of experimental evidence, the part which Latin may play in providing the vocabulary which should be attained by a pupil during the High School period. A number of writers have estimated that 60% of the words in the English language are of Latin origin. The present study was based upon The Teacher's Word Book, by Dr. E. L. Thorndike (published by Teachers College, 1921). A conservative estimate would place the vocabulary of pupils entering a Junior High School at 5,000 words or more. Accordingly, the 5,000 commonest words in Professor Thorndike's list were omitted in this experiment.

The groups of words whose credit-numbers[1] (according to Professor Thorndike's classification) range from nine to three were studied. Wherever possible, Webster's Collegiate Dictionary was used as the final authority in locating the sources of the words. The derivatives were classified as coming from Latin, Anglo-Saxon (including Middle English), French, and German. A separate count was made for each of the seven groups. The following principle of selection was employed in the case of words common to several languages: credit was given to the language in which the root originated, provided the form there found was of such a nature as to be helpful in disclosing the meaning of its English derivative; otherwise the first language which contained a form that would be of actual value in identifying the derivative was given the credit[2]. Whenever it was a moot point whether a word should be credited to Latin or to some other language, the latter was given the benefit of the doubt. Therefore, the Latin percentages presented below may be considered conservative. A record of the Latin source-words in each group was kept.

Table I shows the number of words studied in each group. Twenty-seven of the total in Professor Thorndike's seven groups were omitted.

Table I

Group	Credit-Number	Number of Words
I	9	387
II	8	493
III	7	565
IV	6	646
V	5	880
VI	4	1,040
VII	3	818
	Total	4,829

The percentages of derivatives from each source-language in the separate groups and in the total collection are presented in Table II (the figures give percentages).

Table II

Group	I	II	III	IV	V	VII	VIII	Total
Latin	47.3	50.1	47.7	48.8	46.9	47.7	51.9	48.6
Anglo-Saxon	34.4	24.6	28.5	27.9	27.7	25.9	25.9	27.3
French	6.4	9.5	8.7	8.3	10.5	9.5	8.1	8.9
German	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.8
All Others	11.6	14.4	14.1	14.1	14.1	16.0	13.7	14.4

The most striking characteristic of the figures in Table II is, undoubtedly, their remarkable uniformity. The chief component of the miscellaneous class is Greek. A rather surprising outcome of the study is the revelation of the very low percentage (less than one per cent.) of words secured from the German. While no separate count was kept, it is the writer's impression that the Scandinavian tongues were somewhat more prolific in derivatives than the German.

The variation from group to group is too slight to reveal any distinct tendency. Does the importance of the Latin language as a source tend to increase as the frequency decreases? Certainly, these results do not furnish sufficient evidence to support such a claim, inasmuch as the Latin percentage in the least frequent group exceeds that in the most frequent by only 4.6%[3]. An investigation of the 5,000 or 10,000 words ranking, in frequency, immediately below the Thorndike 10,000 should provide an answer to that question.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND. E. EARLE FRANKLIN

[1] The "credit-number" following each word in the list gives a measure of the range and frequency of the word's occurrence. The higher credit-numbers are given to the words which occur most frequently in the list of 10,000. Credit-numbers 9-3 cover the following groups of words: 5,145-5,544; 5,545-6,047; 6,048-6,618; 6,619-7,262; 7,263-8,145; 8,146-9,190; 9,191-10,000.

C. K.

[2] This is, to my mind, a fundamentally erroneous method of work. Besides, it introduces a dangerous subjective element. C. K.

[3] On this curious misstatement—most unfavorable to Latin—see my remarks on page 113. C. K.

THE WIGMORE FAIR

A neighbor of mine who has a taste for old books, first editions, etc., recently brought back from England a manuscript charter in Latin of the time of James I, which she invited me to decipher and translate.

The charter is written on a sheet of parchment 18.5 by 29 inches. Each line runs across the sheet in its longer dimension, a fact which increases somewhat the difficulty of reading. A considerable space is occupied

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by an elaborate system of arabesque ornamentation, enclosing a vignette portrait of King James. The ink is dark brown, but there are traces of gilt in the decorative flourishes. The parchment is in a good state of preservation except for a ragged hole near one edge, which, however, does not interfere with the writing.

The document is a patent of King James I, dated at Westminster, February 6, 1610. It confers upon Sir Robert Harley the right to establish and maintain a weekly market and an annual fair in the town of Wigmore, in Herefordshire, on the western borders of England. It recites in barbarous Latin that, after thorough investigation, the King is convinced that Wigmore is a desirable place for such market and fair by reason of its situation and commercial importance and its adequate supply of inns and taverns, and that no harm will result in this new departure either to the royal interests or to other communities and more or less distant fairs. Accordingly, to Sir Robert Harley is granted the right to institute and maintain such market and fair, and to enjoy the customary privileges of the overlord, which seem to have included every conceivable kind of toll, commission, fee, and rake-off, together with the right of administering speedy justice in disputes arising during the fair. The document closes with a special provision charging the Keeper of the Great Seal to exact no fee from Sir Robert.

Such markets and fairs, it may be remarked, were very common in England and were of great importance in the commercial and industrial development of the country. They brought considerable profit to those who had them in charge. For one thing, during the market or fair all trade in the town and the surrounding country was suspended except within the precincts of the fair; thus all business was forced to pay its percentage to the lord of the fair.

The manuscript, on the whole, is fairly legible. It is the work of a careful scribe; the letters are well-formed and fairly uniform. The lines drawn with a stylus to guide the writing are still visible in places. Our scribe was so anxious to keep his right-hand margin even that, when a word ended before the close of the line, he carefully filled in the remaining space with a few *m's* or *n's*. Conversely, if near the end of the line his next word was a trifle too long for the space, he sometimes omitted from it enough letters to bring the word into the available space. Thus, at the end of one line, *pmssom* = *praemissorum*. Other abbreviations appear, however, where the ending of the line does not make them necessary. *Concess* = *concessionibus*, *ltas* = *litteras*, *nras* = *nostras*, etc. A macron over a letter indicates the omission of the *m*; the termination *rem* or *rum* is represented by a special sign; *cur'* stands for *curia*; and case-endings are often omitted.

Suus is written without compunction for *eius*, *existit* means nothing more than *est*, *quod* with a finite mode is always used for the classical infinitive with accusative subject, *hec* is written for *haec*, *Anglie* for *Angliae*, etc. *Coram* means 'under the authority of'; *infra villam* means 'in the town'; the preposition *in* is used with the ablative of time (e. g. *in die Martis* means 'on Tuesday'). *Ipse* seems sometimes to mean no more than *is*, and *unus* is nothing but the indefinite article. In one place I read *totum diem illam*, as if the writer was not sure whether *dies* was masculine or feminine and took no chances. *Absque*, 'without', and *super*, 'during', occur in legal and post-Augustan Latin and need not surprise us here. But the use of a clause as the substantive in an ablative absolute construction is worthy of comment. The writer wants to say, 'The fact that no definite mention is made herein of the exact amount of revenue does not invalidate this grant', or 'The fact that no definite mention is made to the contrary notwithstanding'. And he expresses it thus: Eo quod expressa mentio minime existit non obstante. A parallel to this is found in such passages as Horace, Epp. 1.10.50 excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus. But of course this formula and the phrases and meanings quoted above belong to the language of medieval law.

The vocabulary includes a great many legal terms which at best carry with them very little suggestion of Latin, and when shorn of case-endings according to the easy-going fashion of the law scribe they hardly seem words. A single line contains such forms as *tolnet*, *theolon*, *piccag*, *stallag*. These are English and French words made to serve in a Latin sentence by equipping them hastily with case-endings, in this instance invisible case-endings. *Tolnet* and *theolon* are the fees charged for a license to sell. *Stallage* is the rent for a stall in the fair. *Piccage* is the amount charged for digging post-holes in the fair-enclosure. The phrase *curia pedis pulverisati*, 'the court of dusty-foot', corrupted in English to *pie powder*, i. e. the French *pied poudreux*, is the name given to the court of summary jurisdiction in civil cases. The name 'dusty-foot' arose possibly because the informality of the proceedings excused disorder of dress, possibly because dusty-foot was for obvious reasons an appropriate designation of wandering traders and peddlers.

LOS ANGELES HIGH SCHOOL,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA WALTER ALISON EDWARDS

WOMEN IN THE DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

Were we to envisage the women of the days of the Emperors, using, as our only sources, Dio Cassius, whose turn for a good story led to much garbling of the truth, or the slanderous Suetonius, or even Tacitus, the Caesar-hater, our picture would be inexact. Ferrero, in The Women of the Caesars, has tried to palliate the crimes of the infamous Messalina, Agrippina, and others. I desire merely to recall a few women of those black days, whose stories often lie unnoted in the works of the philosopher Seneca, Pliny the Younger, and Tacitus.

We read of the beautiful devotion of Seneca's wife, Paullina, when Nero's order came that his old tutor must die. The account of Tacitus (Ann. 15.63-64) beggars translation. Paullina needed no pluming of her will to induce her to share her husband's fate. She called upon the *percussor* to address himself to his

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duty. Seneca tried to dissuade her, but his love for her was too great to expose her to calumny after his death.

. . .Vitae, inquit, delenimenta monstraveram tibi, tu mortis decus mavis: non invidebo exemplo. Sit huius tam fortis exitus constantia penes utrosque par, claritudinis plus in tuo fine.

An incision was made in the arms of both. Nero, who entertained no dislike for Paullina, demurred, and had her wounds bound up. She lived for a few years

. . .laudabili in maritum memoria et ore ac membris in eum pallorem albentibus ut ostentui esset multum vitalis spiritus egestum.

Seneca himself records the affection of his wife (Epp. 104.1-6).

Tacitus remarks (Ann.15.71) the love of Artoria Flaccilla and Egnatia Maximilla for their husbands, a love which led them to accompany their husbands into exile:

. . .Novio Prisco per amicitiam Senecae et Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni infamatis magis quam convictis data exilia. Priscum Artoria Flaccilla coniunx comitata est, Gallum Egnatia Maximilla, magnis primum et integris opibus, post ademptis. . . .

Claudius, in the first year of his reign (41 A.D.), relegated the courtier-philosopher, Seneca, to Corsica, and banished Livilla on a charge of *liaison* with Seneca (Dio 60.4). No sooner had Seneca arrived at Corsica than his thoughts began to turn homeward. His first letter was a *consolatio*, addressed to his mother, apparently intended to be circulated at Rome, with a view to securing his recall. The letter is valuable as an autobiographical document, and no less so because of the information Seneca has given us about his mother, Helvia, to whom he seems to have been tenderly devoted. She had been brought up by a step-mother, who, unlike the step-mother of tradition, seems to have been a woman of sterling character, and genuinely fond of her step-children. Writing to Helvia, Seneca says (Ad Helviam 2.4):

Crevisti sub noverca, quam tu quidem omni obsequio et pietate, quanta vel in filia conspici potest, matrem fieri coegisti; nulli tamen non magno constitit etiam bona noverca.

Helvia was unlike other mothers whom Seneca knew (*ibidem*, 14.3):

. . .Tu patrimonia nostra sic administrasti ut tamquam in tuis laborares, tamquam alienis abstineres; tu gratiae nostrae, tamquam alienis rebus utereris, pepercisti et ex honoribus nostris nihil ad te nisi voluptas et inpensa pertinuit. . . .

Seneca tells us that his mother was keenly interested in his studies, and that she found delight in the company of her son. In recounting her virtues, Seneca, in words that have a strangely modern flavor, says (*ibidem*, 16.4):

. . .non faciem coloribus ac lenociniis polluisti; numquam tibi placuit vestis quae nihil amplius nudaret cum poneretur: unicum tibi ornamentum, pulcherrima et nulli obnoxia aetati forma, maximum decus visa est pudicitia. . . .

The elder Seneca was a man of inflexible severity, especially in his attitude toward the higher education of women. Of him Seneca writes to his mother (*ibidem*, 17.3-4):

. . .quantum tibi patris mei antiquus rigor permisit, omnes bonas artes non quidem comprendisti, attigisti tamen. Utinam quidem virorum optimus, pater meus, minus maiorum consuetudini deditus voluisset te praeceptis sapientiae erudiri potius quam imbui!. . . . Beneficio tamen rapacis ingenii plus quam pro tempore hausisti; iacta sunt disciplinarum omnium fundamenta: nunc ad illas revertere; tutam te praestabunt.

If we turn to a later generation, we find a picture of inexpressible charm in the devotion of Calpurnia and her husband, Pliny. What can be more delightful than the letter of Pliny (7.5), addressed to his wife, beginning Incredibile est quanto desiderio tui tenear. In causa amor primum, deinde quod non consuevimus abesse? He lies broad awake during most of the night, picturing to himself her image; and in the daytime he unwittingly looks for her in her room, and, not finding her there, is filled with grief.

The eighth letter of Book 3 is of a piece with this. Calpurnia is a woman of discernment, with a *penchant* for books. Her solicitude for her husband when he takes up a case is poignant. She dispatches runners to see how Pliny is received, and, when he gives a *recitatio*, she is within ear-shot, concealed behind the arras. In 6.4 Pliny urges Calpurnia to write to him every day, or even twice a day, so that he may be more easy in spirit. In 6.7 we learn that Calpurnia, during her absence in Campania, reads Pliny's works, since she cannot have Pliny himself, and he, in turn, reads her letters over and over again, letters which, he assures us, possess a charm all their own.

In 3.16 Pliny writes to Nepos about a conversation he had with Fannia concerning Fannia's grandmother, Arria. Arria's husband, Caecina Paetus, and her son were both seized by an illness which was fatal to the son. The mother managed the funeral of the son with such secrecy that the father was ignorant of the death. Arria pretended that her son was better. This was the Paetus who had taken part in the revolt of Scribonianus in Dalmatia in 42. The governor was killed, but Paetus was arrested and brought to Rome, found guilty, and ordered to take his life. When his last hour had come, his wife seized a dagger and plunged it into her heart, with the words, Paete, non dolet! After the arrest of Paetus, when his captors were going to put him on board ship, his wife tried to accompany him, but, having been refused, she hired a fishing smack and followed him. Pliny also tells us (3.16) that, when her son-in-law, Thrasea, tried to dissuade her from taking her life, she said: Nihil agitis,. . . potestis enim efficere ut male moriar, ut non moriar non potestis. As she uttered these words, she sprang from her chair and dashed her head against the wall.

In 7.19, a letter addressed to Priscus, Pliny expresses his distress at the ill-health of Fannia, an illness which she had contracted while nursing one of the Vestals. We learn the interesting fact that, when a Vestal was very ill, she was removed from the Atrium Vestae.

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and was entrusted to the care of a matron, until she recovered. Of this Fannia, Pliny writes: Quae castitas illi, quae sanctitas, quanta gravitas, quanta constantia! Like many women of the first century A.D., she followed her husband into exile, and was banished once on her own account; for her husband, Senecio, when accused of writing a life of Helvidius, remarked in self-defense that he had written the work at the suggestion of his wife. Fannia made no effort to clear herself of the charge, and even had the temerity to preserve the book, and take it with her into exile.

Pliny has a good word (7.24) for the picturesque old lady Ummidia Quadratilla:

. . .Vixit in contubernio aviae delicatae severissime et tamen obsequentissime. Habebat illa pantomimos fovebatque effusius quam principi feminae conveniret.

She had the good sense to send her grandson to his studies while she <solebat> se ut feminam in illo otio sexus animum laxare lusu calculorum, <solebat> spectare pantomimos suos. . . .

The unspeakable Agrippina may have had one friend of genuine fidelity in the person of her maid, Acerronia. Modern writers are wont to belittle Acerronia's self-sacrifice, I suppose, on the grounds of its seeming to be an act of unreason that anyone would give her life for a woman of Agrippina's stamp. Santvoord (The House Of The Caesars, 146) thinks that her heroic action was little more than a dog-like devotion. Holland (Seneca, 90) says:

. . .Acerronia either attempted to save herself at her mistress's expense, or else her mistress at her own—it must ever be doubtful which.

Nero had feigned a desire for a reconciliation with his mother, and had invited her to Baiae, ostensibly for this purpose, but really with murder in his heart. After unctuous attentions and honey words from her son, she went on board ship for the return voyage. Tacitus says (Ann.14.5) that it was a starry-bright night:

. . .Noctem sideribus illustrem et placido mari quietam, quasi convincendum ad scelus, dii praebuere.

Agrippina had two companions:

. . .Crepereius Gallus haud procul gubernaculis adstabat, Acerronia super pedes cubitantis reclinis paenitentiam filii et recuperatam matris gratiam per gaudium memorabat. . . .

Through the clever offices of a freedman, Anicetus, Nero had had the vessel so constructed that, at a given signal, the ceiling, weighted down with lead, would collapse, and the boat sink. The ceiling fell in as arranged, crushing to death Crepereius, but by some good turn of fate Agrippina and Acerronia escaped. The boat failed to sink; so the oarsmen, who were privy to the scheme, capsized it by leaning on one side.

. . .Acerronia, imprudentia dum se Agrippinam esse utque subveniretur matri principis clamittt, contis et remis et quae fors optulerat navalibus telis conficitur.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY ELI EDWARD BURRISS

REVIEWS

The Lupercalia. By Alberta Mildred Franklin. Columbia University Dissertation. New York (privately printed, 1921). Pp. 105.

Some twelve years ago Deubner emphasized the necessity of discussing the Lupercalia from the standpoint of its history and evolution, and himself set the example in an article which appeared in the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 13 (1910), 481–508. Miss Franklin attempts, in this dissertation, to give a fuller discussion, following somewhat the same general method.

In mechanical make-up this is a model dissertation. No footnotes mar the neat page (the notes are assembled after each chapter); an excellent Bibliography (98–102) precedes the adequate Index Rerum (103–105). The place of a Table of Contents is taken by a synopsis of the ten chapters. It fills a little over a page, but in this small compass it sets forth the author's thesis and the steps by which she proceeds to demonstrate it.

Chapter I, Introduction (3–17), sets forth the background of the discussion, the contrast between the Mediterranean and the Aryan religions, the former with its stress on deities of the earth, the latter with its worship of sky-gods. The discussion is clear and illuminating; nowhere have I seen the outlines of the subject better sketched. The bibliography for this chapter is especially full (13–17).

Miss Franklin goes on to show that the Lupercalia, which is a cult complex, is not the product of any one period, but an epitome of the religious experience of the Romans (Chapter II, 18–20). The wolf-deity in Greece is Pelasgian. Absorbed by Zeus and Apollo and associated with Pan, he drops his wild and ravenous nature and becomes kindly and gracious (Chapter III, 21–28). The wolf-deity in Italy was preeminently the animal of magic and popular superstition. The wolf is associated especially with Soranus, a chthonic god of the Faliscans. Mars absorbed a wolf-god. Originally the god was the wolf; then he became the averter of wolves, Lupercus. The running of the Luperci around the Palatine Hill Miss Franklin connects with the ritual flight of priests who had slain an animal that was consecrated to the god and then returned to partake of the flesh sacramentally (Chapter IV, 29–48).

In Greece the sacred goat replaces the wilder wolf, particularly for sacrifices of an expiatory type, as the worshiper advances in civilization (Chapter V, 49–52). In Italy, it appears chiefly in the worship of Faunus, of Juno, and in the Lupercalia. Rejecting Faunus as the deity of the Lupercalia, Miss Franklin discusses Juno, a deity of the old Ligurian stratum, especially Juno Caprotina, in whose cult there was a ritual of blows, with a preliminary flight-ritual (Poplifugia). After the union with the Sabines and under the influence of Juno Lucina, the blows with the goatskin were added to the Lupercalia and the running of the Luperci became no longer a flight-ceremony, but a means of inducing fertility (Chapter VI, 53–66).

The sacrifice of the dog in Greece and Italy is an

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unusual rite. It originated in Thrace, and is an earmark of a chthonic god. In Italy it acquired an apotropaeic power, and it was introduced into the Lupercalia, Miss Franklin thinks, by the Sabines, who had a peculiar tendency to chthonic worship and rites of purification (Chapters VII, VIII, 67–73, 74–82).

In the curious rite of smearing blood on the forehead and wiping it off with milk, we are to see Orphic elements that were grafted into the old Pelasgian cult during the first few years of the Hannibalic War (Chapter IX, 83–95). All through this development the old was partly replaced by the new, but even more largely reinterpreted. Thus it held its place till 494, when Pope Gelasius abrogated it. Even then it was replaced by a feast of the purification of the Virgin held on the same day (Chapter X, 96–97).

A rite of aversion, a fertility-charm, a ceremony of purification, an assurance of sacramental union—such is, to Miss Franklin, the evolution of the Lupercalia. She maintains that in its development the Lupercalia reflected the development of the Roman people, and was an epitome of the religious experience of the Romans (19). I confess I am not quite clear what she means by this. Is she thinking of the successive influences exerted on the Roman religion from without, or of its inner growth in the direction of increased spirituality? Probably the latter, for she says (2) that the Lupercalia was spiritualized by new rites of cleansing and by the assurance of kinship with the deity. There is no spiritual advance from a rite of aversion to a fertility-charm, nor from this to a ceremony of purification which deals no longer entirely with material uncleanness but claims to free men from spiritual taint. Purification is sometimes merely a means of keeping evil at a distance. And a sacramental union with deity is itself no evidence of an advanced state of religious development. A sacrament may be, as this one is, full of the crudest magic, or it may be instinct with totemism, as Reuterskiöld has shown, in his article, Die Entstehung des Speisesakramente, published in Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek 4 (Heidelberg, 1912). I see no adequate evidence that the old rites of the Lupercalia were spiritualized. I see, rather, crude, magical rites unblushingly flourishing, even to the very end of paganism, when other ceremonies had taken on a higher and more spiritual meaning. If it is a primitive notion that wolves can be kept at a distance by magical rites, it is equally primitive to suppose that fertility can be induced by whipping the infertile person, and thus driving out of her the evil spirits that have caused her barrenness.

It may be, as Miss Franklin maintains, that the blood-ceremony was derived from the Orphics (87). Certain elements do seem to point in that direction. But we are not in a position to say that these elements contributed anything of spiritual content to that rite. It may equally well be that, adopted into an old, unspiritual, crudely magical ceremony, they played an unspiritual and crudely magical part. I find no evidence that the ancient significance of the Lupercalia was "reinterpreted" (97) by the new elements.

If it is questionable that, in this sense, at least, the development of the Lupercalia represents the spiritual development of the Roman people, the author abundantly justifies her other point, that the Lupercalia, as it is described in the literature, is not the product of any one period. If she errs here at all, it is in abbreviating too much the period of its development. The last addition she ascribes to the dark days of the Second Punic War, while Deubner, on page 507 of the paper referred to at the beginning of this review, maintains that the distinctively Greek elements in the rite were added as late as when Augustus reconstructed the festival.

I am not convinced that the race of the young men was a ritual flight, ending in a return and a sacramental eating of the flesh of the slain animal. Apparently it was not a flight, a stop, and a return, but an uninterrupted running around the hill until the starting-point was reached. I still incline to see in this race a magical circuit to keep harm, in the form of wolves, from the sheepfolds. Miss Franklin seems to think that the original course was not around the Palatine (41). True, no literary evidence exists that it was. But is not the evidence of the rite fairly conclusive? Under what influence could the place of the running undergo change? And if it was changed, why should it be transferred to a route whose only appropriateness, in the day of a big Rome, lay in the fact that it did represent the boundary of an early, and, to the masses, forgotten stage in the development of the town?

With the problem posed by the laughter of the young men from whose faces the blood had just been wiped by means of wool dipped in milk, many students of the rite have wrestled. Parallels are few. Cook (Zeus, 272) adduces two from Carthage and Sardinia, in both of which the laughter appears to denote a willingness to be sacrificed. Such an explanation for the Lupercalia Miss Franklin rejects, because she believes that a human being was not the original victim at this ceremony. If that is so, it seems to me an equally valid objection against the theory which she champions, namely, that the laughter was the expression of joy at being cleansed. If man be the only animal that laughs, no laughter could be an element in the rite until a human being became the victim.

No conceivable monograph on a subject so obscure and debatable could win the unqualified assent of any other scholar. Miss Franklin has done a good piece of work. Aside from her masterly first chapter, she has valuable digressions on the cult use of the wolf, the goat, the dog, wool, and milk. To the bibliography of Chapter IX she should have added J. Pley, De Lanae in Antiquorum Ritibus Usu (Giessen, 1912), and K. Wyss, Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen und Römer (Giessen, 1915).

In spite of a tendency to build high on a slender foundation, especially in Chapter IX, Miss Franklin's monograph will be very useful. She arranges the evidence well, poses stimulating questions, and writes an easy, readable style.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

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The *Sacra Idulia* in Ovid's *Fasti*: A Study of Ovid's Credibility in Regard to the Place and the Victim of this Sacrifice. By Horace Wetherill Wright. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Newark, New Jersey (1917). Pp. 54.

This dissertation deals with two points in Ovid's account of the sacrifice of a sheep to Jupiter on the Ides of each month.

The problem of the first chapter (9–31), which would seem to have been written when the author was a fellow of the American Academy at Rome, is briefly as follows. Ovid says (Fasti 1. 587) that the priest offered the entrails of a *semimas ovis* in the Temple of Jupiter. Was this sacrifice within the shrine (a most unusual place)? And what temple is meant? Was it the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus? This is very unlikely, because the flamen Dialis performed the sacrifice—this, by the way, is not certain—and he had nothing to do with the cult of this Etruscan importation. We must choose between the priest and the temple. Dr. Wright chooses the priest and rejects the temple on the Southern summit. Festus seems to place the rite on the Arx, or Northern summit. But we know of no temple of Jupiter there. Perhaps the slaying of the animal took place on the Arx, and the offering of the *exta* in the Regia, which the procession would pass in its progress along the Sacred Way.

Here begins one of those long discussions which rather distract attention from the author's thesis and look like padding for what would otherwise be a rather thin doctoral dissertation. Its ostensible intent is to prove that the Regia had nothing to do with the Sacra Idulia. No one has suggested that it had: the testimony of Varro is pretty definitely against it. The author himself admits that such a gratuitous supposition scarcely needs such elaborate disproof. It seems like a man of straw set up to be overwhelmed by a product of Dr. Wright's studies in the Roman Forum. Its net result is to prove that the *penetrale Numae* of Fasti 2.69 is the Regia, but it is not made clear in what way this demonstration advances the author's thesis. The net result of this whole digression (pages 19–28) is to show the futility of the suggestion made by the author on page 19.

The sacrifice, then, according to Ovid, took place in the Temple of Jupiter on the Arx. But there was no such temple there. Ovid never saw the rite—although it existed in his day—but got it out of a book. Being a poet and a story-teller, rather than a scholar, he misread his source, took the word *arx* in its general sense, and jumped to the conclusion that this hypaethral sacrifice was performed inside a temple, which would be the great edifice on the Southern summit of the Capitoline.

Now, as to the sex of the *ovis Idulis* (33–54), Ovid calls it *alba agna* in Fasti 1. 56, and *semimas ovis* in 1.588. How do these statements harmonize with each other and with the rule of Roman cult that male animals should be offered to male deities, female to female? Other apparent exceptions to the rule are a *capra* to Vediovis (in Gellius) and an *agna* to Jupiter (in Varro). Dr. Wright sets out to prove the ritual rule correct by showing that the feminine gender is not significant. He gives a long discussion of epicene nouns as distinguished from nouns of common gender. In Varro L. L. 9. 55 ff., it is stated that the name of an animal may be epicene, though either masculine or feminine in grammatical form and gender, in cases where the sex is not emphasized in the writer's mind, because there is no difference in the way the two sexes of the animal in question are employed by man: ideo equus dicitur et equa; in usu enim horum discrimina. . . .Surely to make his point, Dr. Wright should remodel his rendering of *horum*. He translates by "for there is a distinction in the way these two words are employed". But Varro meant not 'these two words' but 'these two animals'. It would seem, moreover, that on this principle the epicene use of names of animals would be found least of all in passages relating to ritual, where the matter of sex is important. Dr. Wright's discussion is not convincing; he raises too much on a slender foundation. In fact he seems to feel that to clinch his argument he must fall back on the ritual rule (pages 45, 52), and comes dangerously near assuming as correct the thing whose correctness he sets out to prove.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

EXAMINATIONS FOR FELLOWSHIPS IN ARCHAEOLOGY MARCH 19, 20, 21, 1923

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The object of the Fellowships is primarily to assist in the researches of the School and at the same time to provide well-trained Greek archaeologists for American Museums and institutions of higher learning. Hence in the selection of the Fellows attention is paid not only to evidence of some familiarity with the major subjects of Greek archaeology and the apparatus of the archaeologist, but also to indications of ability in independent investigation.

Candidates should therefore submit any papers which they have written, whether printed or not, soon after announcing their candidacy.

Competitive examinations are held at places convenient to the candidates, in March of each year. All candidates are examined in Modern Greek, and in the six archaeological subjects mentioned below. In one of the six subjects (to be selected by the candidate) the examination will be made more searching in order to test the candidate's preparation and his ability to begin at once the investigation of some problem. The six archaeological subjects, together with the books which satisfy the minimum requirements, are as follows: General Greek Archaeology, Greek Architecture, Greek Sculpture, Greek Vases (Fowler and Wheeler, Greek Archaeology); Topography and Monuments of Ancient Athens (Harrison and Verrall, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, or Weller, Athens and its Monuments, and the contents of Pausanias, Book 1); and Greek Epigraphy, with emphasis rather on Attic decrees than on the epichoric alphabets (Hicks and Hill, Greek Historical Inscriptions, and the summary in Whibley, Companion to Greek Studies). Candidates are also expected to show some familiarity with the chief works of reference, with the archaeological

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periodicals, and with some of the most recent archaeological discoveries and problems.

The secondary object of the Fellowships is to furnish assistance to the Faculty of the School in such ways as may be designated by the director, and especially to form a nucleus of students whose aim is to cultivate the spirit of archaeological study and research, and thus give esprit and solidarity to the whole attendance at the School. This object determines the general obligations of the Fellows. The specific requirements are as follows: to spend the full School year in Athens, unless excused by the Director for the better prosecution of investigation for part of the year elsewhere in Europe; to attend the lectures and take part in the trips of the School in accordance with the recommendation of the Director; to begin as soon as possible the investigation of some topic of research and to complete the paper by the end of the School year; and to report on January 1 and July 1 to the Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships with a written account of the work done as Fellow, especially in independent research. It is recommended that the special field of investigation, if not the topic itself, be selected soon after election as Fellow, by written conference with the Director or the Annual Professor, and that, whenever possible, the Fellows spend both the summer before and the summer after the School year in visiting the museums, libraries and Universities of Europe or in travel in Italy and Sicily, or in Greek lands. During the School year abundant opportunities of becoming familiar with the most important sites in Greece are offered to all the students and the Fellows should take advantage of these.

On the recommendation of the Director, a Fellow may be reelected for one year without reexamination.

Inquiries for further information should be addressed to the undersigned, Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships. Applications will be accepted up to February 25.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT,
BURLINGTON, VERMONT SAMUEL E. BASSETT

A ROMAN DISCOVERY

Word has reached us here in Rome of accounts in the American papers purporting to describe the discovery, by a workman, near the Porta Maggiore, of a secret villa built by Taurus in order to take refuge from the vengeance of Nero's mother. It has been suggested that some more definite information from this side would be helpful.

I know the newspaper accounts only at second-hand, but it is clear that they have to do with a remarkable underground structure which was discovered in the spring of 1917, as the result of the settling of a railroad bed. Some of the Italian archaeologists endeavored to bring the mysterious edifice into connection with what Tacitus tells (Ann. 12. 59) of the *magicae superstitiones* of the consul of 44 A.D., T. Statilius Taurus, whose family is known to have possessed property in the vicinity; the hypothesis would appear to have lost nothing in the telling.

This underground building is constructed of good Roman concrete characteristic of the first century of our era. Its plan is that of a typical Christian basilica; three parallel barrel vaults, separated by piers, the central space being wider and loftier and having an apse, with half-dome, at the further end. An antechamber with painted walls reminds one of the *narthex* of early Churches. All the wall space, vaults, and piers of the main part of the building are decorated with exceptionally fine stucco reliefs, with ornamental borders, and especially with figures—Victories gracefully alighting, sacrificial or agonistic tables, Medusa heads, great vases flanked by animals, and in particular mythological subjects not all of which are easy to interpret. The artistic repertory is pure Greek, with no suggestion of Oriental elements, and it is probable that we have to do with some Orphic or Neo-Platonic conventicle. Especially suggestive was the finding of the remains of a dog and a pig buried under the wall of the apse.

I published a brief account of the discovery, in The Year's Work in Classical Studies for 1917, pages 4-6, and my colleague Professor D. Densmore Curtis included the *basilica* in his illustrated article on recent discoveries, in Art and Archaeology 9 (1920), 271-276; he gave a further bibliography in connection with his discussion of the reliefs in the apse, in the American Journal of Archaeology 24 (1920), 146-150.

AMERICAN ACADEMY, ROME A. W. VAN BUREN

HERODOTUS AND THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE

In his article, The Origin of Language, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.34-38, Dr. E. H. Sturtevant makes reference to the narrative in Herodotus (2.2) of the attempt of King Psammetichus to determine, experimentally, the original language of man. The character of the test has a modern flavor, and we ought, indeed, to hail Psammetichus as the father of experimental psychology!

It is interesting to note, however, that this episode is used—with all seriousness—by a recent writer on evolution, to support a certain doctrine. Dr. Albert Churchward, in his Origin and Evolution of the Human Race (London and New York, 1922), advances hypotheses regarding man's origin and distribution which differ *toto caelo* from those generally accepted by men of science. In particular, he postulates an African origin of the human race; man, he believes, developed from some ancestor common with that of the anthropoids, in the region of the equatorial lakes at the head of the Nile. In Dr. Churchward's view, our first parents were pigmies in form, the earliest example of whom is found in the Ape-man, whose skull-cap and thigh-bone were discovered some thirty years ago in the Island of Java.

In exploiting the story of Herodotus, Dr. Churchward draws attention (97, 98) to the curious fact that the modern African pigmy word for 'bread' is *Macchate* or *Bacchate* (*ch* is to be pronounced as *k*). This certainly recalls the word *bekos*, 'bread', which appears in Herodotus's story. Hence Dr. Churchward accepts, *mutatis mutandis*, the conclusion of Psammetichus—that the pigmy-jargon is the earliest tongue and the pigmies the earliest of the inhabitants of the earth. Of course the Egyptian monarch and the English savant have alike to assume that the Phrygian and the pigmy languages have not altered materially in some hundreds of thousands of years—which is, surely, an hard saying. Truly, the mental processes of the ancient and the modern investigator are often strangely similar.

JAMESTOWN COLLEGE,
JAMESTOWN, N. D. A. D. FRASER

PEGASUS AS THE POET'S STEED

The fancy of Pegasus as 'the poet's steed' is sometimes called a quite modern one, and indeed it is not easy to cite any definite use of it earlier than the fifteenth century (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.200, 15.136). Perhaps it is implied on an ancient Roman sarcophagus (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.20, 152). This represents a man riding on a winged horse, with a female figure setting a crown upon his head. The epitaph is apparently that of a poet:

Ut te, Palladi, raptum flevere Camenae,
fleverunt populi quos continet Ostia dia.

Compare the famous epitaph of Naevius:

Mortalis immortaleis flere si foret fas,
flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam.

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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY is published by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, weekly, on Mondays from October 1 to May 31 inclusive, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, at Barnard College, Broadway and 120th St., New York City.

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FRANCES E. SABIN
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The New York Classical Club

February 17, 1923

The New York Classical Club will hold its midwinter meeting and luncheon at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Saturday, February 17, at 11:30 A. M.

Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, will speak on Scholarship and Diplomacy in Athens, and Mr. Robert Underwood Johnston will read from his poems.

(Reservations for the luncheon, at $1.00 per ticket, should be made in advance with Mr. George Beal, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City).

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The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Monday, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.
Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1873.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, No. 16 MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1923 WHOLE NO. 439

American Academy in Rome, School of Classical Studies, Summer Session July 9--August 18, 1923

A course of lectures and archaeological exercises will be given at the American Academy for graduate students who wish to pursue their studies during the summer in Rome.

The work will be under the charge of Professor Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, who is the present Annual Professor in the School, and who has resided in Rome for five years.

The course will consist of three lectures a week on the history of the City of Rome from its origin to the present time.

The work will be of a grade to entitle it to credit at American Universities.

The lectures will be given at the Academy building and students will have free use of the Library and other facilities for their work.

The fee for the course is $50.

Facilities for students in the Italian language and literature are available in the city at small cost.

Pension rates may be calculated at about $1.50 a day.

For further details regarding the work, or for assistance in obtaining lodgings in Rome, address the American Academy in Rome, Summer Session, Rome 29, Italy.

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, No. 16 | FEBRUARY 26, 1923 | WHOLE NO. 439

MR. MURRY ON STYLE

In a book[1] entitled The Problem of Style (Oxford University Press, 1922), Mr. J. Middleton Murry defines style as follows:

Style is a quality of language which communicates precisely emotions or thoughts, or a system of emotions or thoughts, peculiar to the author. Where thought predominates, there the expression will be in prose; where emotion predominates, the expression will be indifferently in prose or poetry, except that in the case of overwhelming immediate personal emotion the tendency is to find expression in poetry. Style is perfect when the communication of the thought or emotion is exactly accomplished; its position in the scale of absolute greatness, however, will depend upon the comprehensiveness of the system of emotions and thoughts to which the reference is perceptible.

The highest style, Mr Murry suggests, is that wherein two current meanings of the words blend; it is a combination of the maximum of personality with the maximum of impersonality; on the one hand, it is a concentration of peculiar and personal emotions, on the other, it is a complete projection of this personal emotion into the created thing. All good styles are achieved by artifice, says Mr. Murry.

. . .When we distinguish between good styles equally achieved by artifice by calling some of them artificial and others natural, we are making not so much a literary as a scientific or even an ethical judgment; we are classifying modes of feeling with reference to a normal mode of feeling—common sense, as it was called in the eighteenth century. Within its limits it is a useful method of classification; but its limits are narrow. Very few great writers have approximated to the normal mode of feeling: Chaucer and Tolstoy are the only two that immediately occur to me. After them I can think only of writers of the second rank, like Bunyan and Massinger, and, in our own day, Samuel Butler.

This last quotation from Mr. Murry's book made me recall what I have seen so often in print, and have heard stated so often in lectures or speeches, that the style of the classical Latin authors was artificial. What of it? If Mr. Murry is right, it would seem that certain critics, while they were seeking to condemn Latin literature for its artificiality, were in reality praising it by admitting, in the very terms of their criticism, that the Latin authors had style, in the better sense of the word.

Of special interest to me, also, is Mr. Murry's dictum that the highest style is that wherein two current meanings of the words blend. This made me think at once of Sophocles and of Vergil. I would refer the interested reader to my notes on the various passages of the Aeneid listed in the Index to my edition, under the caption Suggestiveness of Vergil's Language (pages 579–580). For Sophocles and for Vergil both I may refer also to an admirable passage, by A. E. Haigh, in The Tragic Drama of the Greeks, 163–165 (Oxford University Press, 1886).

Among the other qualities of the Sophoclean style one of the most distinctive is the subtlety and intricate delicacy of the phraseology. Sophocles, like Virgil and Tacitus among the Romans, is one of those artists in language who seem to exult in their power over the instrument which they employ, and who love to play experiments with words, to bend them to their will, and to strain their capacity to the utmost. He is a master of those felicitous and artfully chosen phrases, which tantalize the reader by their beauty and suggestiveness, stimulating his curiosity, while they elude exact analysis. . . .Above all he closely resembles Virgil in the half-veiled allusiveness of his style. He chooses some skilful combination of words, which, beyond its obvious significance, calls to mind yet other combinations, and opens out new vistas of thought. Various fancies and recollections appear to hover about the lines, suggested by the subtlety of the terms employed; and the language, in such cases, becomes alive with meaning, like an atmosphere quivering with diverse-coloured lights.

The same masterful supremacy over forms of diction is shown by Sophocles in many other ways, and especially in his bold innovations in grammar, and in his extensions and modifications in the meaning of words and phrases. The licence which he adopts in these matters has often been ascribed to the fluid and unformed condition of Attic Greek in the fifth century. But the fact that similar boldness is displayed by Virgil and Tacitus, though dealing with a language which had been fixed and stereotyped by previous usage, would seem to show that liberties of this kind are not confined to any particular stage of literary history, but are mainly due to the individual bent of the writer's genius. No ancient author, however, has carried them to a greater length than Sophocles. . . .He uses words and phrases in their literal and etymological, as opposed to their conventional, meaning. He gives a fresh turn to well-worn idioms by a change of structure. Lastly, he rejoices in those confusions of syntax to which the Greek was always prone, and by which one construction is suddenly merged into another.

. . .There is much more in the language than appears upon the mere surface; and in order to appreciate all the subtle shades of meaning, and all the niceties and intricacies of expression, much study is required. But the labour is well bestowed, and each fresh perusal of his plays reveals some new beauty and delicacy of phrase which had previously escaped notice. . . .

Of the points made in this passage Mr. Haigh gave illustrations in footnotes. I may refer here to my edition of the Aeneid, Introduction, § 203, and the Index, under Elaborate Language, Inverted or Strained Expressions, Variations from Familiar Phrases, etc., Vergil's Love of (page 542), and under Confusion (page 537).

[1] I have not seen the book. The quotations from it are taken from an abstract of the book, published in The Periodical 8.202–205 (Oxford University Press).

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In connection with the style of Tacitus there are, I think, certain special considerations of which Mr. Haigh took no account. For these see my paper, A Phase in the Development of Prose Writing Among the Romans, Classical Philology 13 (1918), 138–154, especially 151–154.

C. K.

LATIN IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL[1]

If I had any question in my own mind as to my fitness for writing and reading a paper entitled Junior High School Latin, or any doubt as to the necessity of writing such a paper, that diffidence and that doubt were as nothing compared with what I felt when I came quite casually upon an article in The Classical Journal headed Latin in the Grades again.

The present discussion will of necessity be personal, for I can but tell what we are doing here in our two Junior High Schools in Pittsburgh; the subject in a general and national aspect I do not presume to treat, for it has been adequately surveyed by leading classicists and other educators whose reports have appeared in The Classical Journal and THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, and in other educational papers (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.201 for a list of such papers[2]).

The opportunity that the Junior High School organization affords of beginning Latin in the Eighth Grade gives us three semesters instead of two to anticipate the Senior High School Latin. It is not our intention, however, to place the Latin of the traditional course back one year, by working over the same ground, along the same traditional lines.

We purpose, rather, not only to minimize the difficulties of beginning Latin, but also to provide a richer, broader content that will be a background against which we shall develop a course with Dr. Mason D. Gray's threefold aim—practical, disciplinary, and cultural. Beginners' books in present use have been written too much for small numbers of students who intend to go to College and too little for the large number who study Latin only during one or two years of the High School Course.

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(1) To illuminate the mother tongue.

We are not teaching Latin as an end in itself. Says Dr. Gray (Introductory Lessons in Latin and English, Part One, XVII),

> The practical value of syntax depends upon the selection of topics, not on the basis of their relative importance to a possible student of Caesar, but with the definite aim of equipping pupils adequately in English grammar, thus giving to the majority of first year pupils who will never read Caesar a most valuable and permanent possession that can hardly be gained so well in any other way.

(2) To lay a foundation on which can be built a knowledge of other modern languages. The vocabulary is chosen with a view to the study of French and Spanish, rather than with respect to Caesar alone; we believe that the opportunity that the Junior High School affords for three semesters of Latin before Caesar will make it possible for the work in Caesar to take care of itself. We expect that an interest in the study of languages will be developed as the result of leading the student to see for himself the very close relation between Latin and the Romance tongues.

(3) To make Latin alive by (a) Making a special study of Latin derivatives in English; (b) Developing consistently, as a regular part of the work in Latin, the study of Latin words and phrases that are frequently used in English; (c) Studying the life of the Roman people—their customs, ideas, ideals, and the elements of our civilization that we have derived from them; (d) Emphasizing the relation of Latin to the terminology of science, mathematics, law, and commercial studies; (e) Giving the student a reading-experience so that he can attack Caesar without drudgery.

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Bibliography: Webster, Ancient History; Breasted, Ancient Times; Johnston, Private Life of the Romans; Atkinson, European Beginnings of American History; Atkinson, Coriolanus; Quiller-Couch, Historical Tales from Shakespeare; Macaulay, Lays of Ancient Rome; Paxson, Handbook for Latin Clubs.

III. Latin Words and Phrases in Everyday Life.

IV. Vocabulary—practical rather than military.

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VI. Syntax: (1) Review of English parts of speech; (2) Subject and predicate nominative; (3) Accusative of direct object; (4) Genitive, possessive; (5) Agreement of adjectives; (6) Agreement of verbs.

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8 A Grade

I. The Life of the Romans: (1) Slaves and Clients; (2) Commerce and Industry; (3) Roman Architecture—The Roman Forum; (4) Roman Roads—Via Appia;

[1] This paper was read at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at the University of Pittsburgh, April 29, 1922.

[2] To the list there given, by Professor Knapp, add the following: Green, T. Jennie, Latin in the Grades, Education 83.18 (January, 1916); Foreign Languages in the Junior High School, in the Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, 16.69–71.

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(5) How a Roman Spent his Day; (6) The Roman Army.

II. Latin Words and Phrases in Everyday Life.

III. Vocabulary—practical.

IV. Inflection: (1) Declensions, (a) First, Second, and Third Declensions of nouns complete, (b) Adjective declensions completed, (c) Fourth and Fifth Declensions; (2) Conjugations, (a) Perfect, pluperfect, future perfect active, (b) Passive, entire, (c) Infinitives, present, active and passive, (d) Participles, present active and perfect passive; (3) Comparison of adjectives and adverbs.

V. Syntax: (1) Dative of indirect object; (2) Dative with adjectives; (3) Ablative of means or instrument; (4) Ablative of cause; (5) Ablative of time; (6) Ablative in company with; (7) Ablative of manner; (8) Ablative of place where; (9) Ablative of place from which; (10) Ablative after comparatives; (11) Ablative after numerals; (12) Accusative as subject of the infinitive; (13) Accusative of duration of time and extent of space; (14) Agreement of predicate adjective after complementary infinitive.

VI. Cardinal numerals, 25–100; ordinals, 1st to 10th.

VII. Derivatives.

9 B Grade

I. The Life of the Romans: (1) Great Men of Rome—Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Augustus Caesar, the Gracchi, Scipio Africanus, Livy, Tacitus; (2) Great Women of Rome: Their Influence on Political Life.

II. Latin Words and Phrases in Everyday Life.

III. Vocabulary—military.

IV. Inflection: (1) Declensions, (a) Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, (b) Relative and interrogative pronouns, (c) Personal and reflexive pronouns, (d) Indefinite pronouns; (2) Conjugations, (a) Participles, complete, (b) Infinitives, complete, (c) Subjunctives, active and passive, (d) Deponent verbs, (e) Irregular verbs.

V. Syntax: (1) Genitive and ablative, descriptive; (2) Genitive, partitive; (3) Dative, of possessor; (4) Dative, of service; (5) Dative, with verbs; (6) Dative, with compounds of *sum*; (7) Ablative of specification; (8) Ablative of degree of difference; (9) Ablative with deponents; (10) Ablative absolute; (11) Indirect Discourse; (12) Purpose clauses; (13) Result clauses; (14) Relative clause of purpose; (15) Sequence of tenses; (16) Subjunctive after verbs of fearing; (17) *Cum*-clauses; (18) Indirect question; (19) Substantive clauses.

VI. Derivatives.

9 A Grade

(This 9 A Grade is not the Senior High School 9 A—but a Junior High School final Fourth Semester).

I. Syntax: (1) Gerund and Gerundive; (2) Wishes; (3) Conditions; (4) Subordinate clauses in Indirect Discourse; (5) Supine in *um*; (6) Imperative (present active forms only).

II. Reading: Fabulae Faciles; Viri Romae; Junior Latin Book—Nepos, History (based upon Livy); Fables; Rolfe and Dennison, Junior Latin Book; Plays.

In the class-room is a reference copy of Johnston's Private Life of the Romans, and we make our classes acquainted with most of the familiar aspects of Roman life by such adaptations as the following.

THE FAMILY—FAMILIA

The English word family usually means a group consisting of husband, wife, and children. The Latin word *familia*, however, is much broader in its meaning. Those persons made up the Roman *familia* who were subject to the authority of the Head of the House (*Pater Familias*). These persons might make a host in themselves, wife, unmarried daughters, sons real or adopted, married or unmarried, with their wives, sons, unmarried daughters, etc.

The word *familia* was also very commonly used in a slightly wider sense to include, in addition to the persons named above, all the slaves and clients belonging to the Pater Familias or acquired and used by the persons under his authority. In a still wider and more important sense the word is applied to a large group of related persons, the *gens*, consisting of all the household who derived their descent through males from a common ancestor.

The Pater Familias lost the control of his daughter when she married, as she then came under the Pater Familias of her husband. He might emancipate a son or an unmarried daughter, who then became the head of a new family, but this was very rare.

The Pater Familias had absolute power over his children and over the members of his family. He decided whether or not the new born child should be reared; he punished what he regarded as misconduct with punishment as severe as banishment, slavery, and death. Custom, however, put many checks upon the authority of the Pater Familias. Custom, not law, obliged the Pater Familias to call a council of relatives and friends when he contemplated inflicting severe punishment upon his children, and public opinion obliged him to abide by their verdict.

THE DOMUS

The Roman house did not show as many different types as does the American house of the present time. The Roman house in all times and among all classes had certain main features that were never changed.

The earliest Roman house was the model from which all later forms took their design. It goes back to the simple farm life of early times, when all members of the household—father, mother, children, and dependents—lived in one large room together, the *atrium*. In this room the meals were cooked, the table was spread, all indoor work was performed, the sacrifices were offered to the Lares (the household gods), and at night a space was cleared in which to spread the hard beds. The primitive house had no chimney, the smoke escaping through a hole in the middle of the roof. Rain could enter where the smoke escaped and from this fact the hole was called the *impluvium*; just beneath it a basin (*compluvium*) was hollowed out in the floor to catch the water for domestic purposes.

There were no windows, at first, all natural light coming through the *impluvium* and the door. There was but one door.

The Greeks seemed to have furnished the idea next adopted by the Romans—a court at the rear of the *atrium*, open to the sky, surrounded by rooms, and set with flowers, trees, and shrubs. The open space had columns around it, and often a fountain in the middle. This court was called the *peristylium*.

The outstanding feature of the 8 B course lies in the fact that we hand to pupils, daily, typewritten sheets covering the work to be done. There is very intensive concentration on the complements (predicate nominative and object), since the study of cases is, for many

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weeks, limited to the study of the nominative and the accusative of the first three declensions. We introduce the genitive only after knowledge of *am um, em, as, os, es,* and *a* endings and their uses has become more or less automatic—a grasp which, Tenth Grade teachers complain, is by no means to be taken for granted in the case of many students of Caesar.

Similarly, we have restricted the verb-inflections and syntax to the present, imperfect, and future tenses of the four conjugations.

With these made-in-the-Junior-High-School daily lesson-sheets as a text we have proved to our satisfaction that students of the 8 B Grade, upon promotion to the 8 A Grade, can actually handle our regular Latin text-book and complete it in the 9 B Grade.

We are approaching—modestly and as yet afar off—the Junior High School goal that Professor Gonzalez Lodge has defined thus (School and Society 1.304):

> . . .what I have in mind is, in reality, a study of Latin life and civilization around a thread of Latin language. I should hope that at the end of such a course the pupil who took it would have a permanent possession in the form of a broad point of view and appreciation of ancient life. I should expect him to have sufficient knowledge of Latin to be able to proceed to the reading of Caesar or whatever else was used in the upper high school with ease and rapidity. I should expect him to have a more intelligent and accurate acquaintance with the niceties of English usage. Such a course would be cultural and also disciplinary and, at the same time, an adequate preparation for further study.

IRWIN AVENUE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH, PA. HARRIET E. KELLY

REVIEW

Hellenic History. By George Willis Botsford. New York: The Macmillan Company (1922). Pp. 520. $4.00.

This is a posthumous work by Professor Botsford, who died in December, 1917. The manuscript, left among his papers, was published under the editorship of his son, Mr. Jay Barrett Botsford, Instructor in History at Brown University, who had already collaborated with his father on a book called A Brief History of the World. The editor also acknowledges the assistance of several of his father's pupils and friends in the preparation of the bibliographies, illustrative material, and index.

Unfortunately, no mention is made in the Preface of the fact that nearly a quinquennium had intervened between the writing of the manuscript and the appearance of the book. This is manifestly an injustice to the author, who certainly would have availed himself of the investigations of that period in the final draft of the work. Moreover, the manner in which the work has been carried out does an even greater injustice to the painstaking methods for which Professor Botsford was noted, since many of the numerous mistakes which mar the book would have been eliminated by the author, had he lived to place the manuscript in the hands of the printer. More reprehensible yet is the fact that the proof-reading, especially of the notes and the bibliographies, has been careless in the extreme. There is surely no excuse for such slovenly work, which is especially noticeable in the garbling of foreign names and titles of books, some of which have been mutilated quite beyond recognition (as on pages 101, 460, 474). In reading the book, therefore, one must feel sympathy for the distinguished author, whose well-known accuracy is disgraced by such mistakes, which have no place in a work professing to be scholarly or intended to be used in University classes.

However, despite all such drawbacks, much can be said in praise of the plan and the contents of the Hellenic History. Here, at last, we have an attractive and well-balanced, if not altogether authoritative, work of Collegiate grade by an American historian of eminence. Heretofore, with the possible exception of Professor Bury's History of Greece, we have had no text-book on the subject which is exactly adapted to College classes. And Bury's work, with all its excellencies, is too extended in its one-volume edition and too condensed in its School edition, and withal is too political in character to supply fully the demands of an advanced text-book. On the whole, the Hellenic History shows the grasp, insight, and attractive style characteristic of the author's other historical works. In three distinct ways, moreover, it differs from all other text-books of Greek history.

In the first place, political and military history is not the main theme. The book aims to be a symmetrical survey of the activities of the Greek people from their primitive beginnings down to 30 B. C., broadly viewed from the historical standpoint. It represents, as we read in the Preface[1], "an effort to combine political, economic, social, and cultural history in one synthesis, centering attention on those factors which have contributed essentially to modern civilization". This intention has been carried out, even though it has necessitated the compression or the omission of many topics prominent in most other histories. Of the thirty chapters fully one-half are concerned with the humanistic aspects of the Greeks—society, literature, art, thought, and general culture. Thus the political story of the change from monarchy to democracy in Athens occupies one chapter, of 22 pages (102–123), while the intellectual awakening of Pre-Persian Athens occupies two chapters, of 33 pages (124–135, 136–157). While the story of the War with Persia and Carthage is compressed into a single chapter, of 20 pages (169–189), the account of the Age of Pericles is expanded into four chapters, of 65 pages (234–247, 248–257, 258–274, 275–299), which treat the period from the standpoints of imperialism, democracy, society and public works, thought, culture, and character. The Age of the War Heroes—479–461 B. C.—is treated in two chapters, of 43 pages, one political and economic (190–212), the other social and cultural (213–237). Alexander's conquests occupy 15 pages (445–460), while the culture of the Hellenistic Age occupies 23 (475–498). Great attention is given to character-sketches, some of which are masterly, as, for example, those of Euripides, Socrates, Thucydides, Dionysius I, Plato, Aristotle,

[1] The prefatory pages are not numbered.

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Philip, and Demosthenes. Others, however, are too short. Others, again, we miss entirely. Thus Pelopidas and Timoleon, two of the greatest Greeks, are merely mentioned, while the sketches of Epaminondas and Dionysius II are exceedingly brief. Of course the incorporation of the cultural achievements of the Greek people in a history of Greece will be depreciated by the technical historian for whom political events form the staple of historical narrative. Such an one will say that the phenomena of art, literature, and philosophy should be left to specialists to analyze, and will recommend the reader to the handbooks of Gardner, Jebb, and Burnet, rather than to Botsford(compare Ferguson, American Historical Review 28.80 [October, 1922]).

In the next place, in order to attain this symmetry of treatment, many striking compressions occur, especially in the accounts of wars and battles and of military leaders. Though this is, on the whole, an excellent innovation, the process at times is carried to extremes. The battle of Thermopylae is told in twelve lines (180), and the story of the disaster of the Sicilian Expedition and the treason of Alcibiades (318–321)—the most dramatic episode recounted by Thucydides—is wholly inadequate. The spectacular fall of Athens after Aegospotami is told with little dramatic skill (327–328). The accounts of the changes wrought in military tactics by Epaminondas (365), which made Leuctra and Mantinea possible, and in Philip's phalanx (383–384), which won the day at Chaeronea, are all too short. Of the latter battle, one of the landmarks of universal history, the author merely says (390): "In the battle of Chaeronea, Boeotia, he <Philip> routed their forces". The greatest compression is seen in the account of Alexander's conquests, a subject which always arouses the attention of the dullest class. Fifteen pages tell the story from the crossing of the Hellespont to Alexander's death in Babylon. Of the siege of Tyre, the most famous of ancient history, and that of Gaza, the author merely says (447): "This campaign <that of Issus> involved the capture of Tyre and of Gaza by siege". In the account of Alexander's Indian campaign no mention is made of Porus, or the battle of the Hydaspes, though the latter is described fully by Plutarch from letters written by Alexander himself, and is regarded by most historians as Alexander's greatest military exploit.

In the third place, the most striking feature of the book, one which differentiates it from every other School history, is the presentation of the source-material at the bottom of each page to guarantee the statements and the inferences of the text. This feature makes the book of inestimable value not only to every teacher, but also to every serious student in his collateral reading and training in the method of historical writing. The relative value of such source-material is also often indicated.

The work throughout is characterized by the author's well-known pleasing English style, which is uniformly straightforward and lucid. It is often epigrammatic in its condensation, as on page 497: "Whereas Theocritus stands at the threshold of Alexandrian life, Callimachus occupies its inmost shrine". Again, it reaches poetic heights, as in these two gems: "Whereas Plato gives inspiration, Aristotle conveys knowledge. The one soars above the clouds, the other keeps his feet firmly on earth" (443). "Casting off from traditional moorings, he <Euripides> pilots mankind over the surging seas of thought and emotion; he bares the storm-tossed heart; but his ship reaches no haven. . ." (332). At times a fondness for classical terminology is displayed, when the author uses words which, even when he explains them, remain strange to the average English reader: e.g. ochlocracy (290, 317), diobely (325, n. 24), periodology (433), theatrocracy (330), Athidographer (431), penestae (400), latifundia (401), ethos (436), Orphists (for the usual Orphics, 439 and n. 27). The sensible plan of Latinizing Greek names is followed, though not consistently, for we find some Greek, and some hybrid ones. Frequently the abbreviations are hard to understand, e.g. SGD. (81, n. 1), SGDI. (469, n. 18), Ergzb. (416, n. 10; 421, n. 27).

The historical judgments given are generally sound, e.g. those on Dionysius I (379), on the clear-cut issue between the Hellenes and Philip (392), on oligarchy and democracy as two types of Republic (412 ff.), on the authorship of the Oxyrhynchus Hellenica (435, and n. 20), and on the guilt of Demosthenes (452). However, the author at times is forgetful of the historian's impartiality and turns advocate: e.g. on the authorship of the Homeric poems, where he presents in substance as the more reasonable the "Unitarian" view as opposed to that of the Wolfians (Christ, Jebb, Robert, Wilamowitz, etc.); on Themistocles, whom he calls "the greatest of the Greeks" (206); and in the statement that human freedom is "the greatest gift of Hellas to mankind" (437). Perhaps the least satisfactory judgment is the one on Alexander, whose absolutism, first shown during the visit to the oasis of Siwe (447), the author regards as the "product of his own experiences" (466–467). In fact, he unequivocally champions the traditional view, represented by Kaerst and others, that Alexander aimed at conquering the world and demanded to be worshipped as a god, though Droysen denied the former and Niese limited his conquests to the Persian bounds and found his claim to divine honor fabulous (Historische Zeitschrift, 79 [1891], 1 f.). While Niebuhr and Grote believed in Alexander's mad ambition and vainglory, Kaerst (Geschichte des Hellenismus², 1921) thinks that he merely incorporated ideas which were the fruit of long historical development. Notwithstanding the lack of conclusive criteria, therefore, Professor Botsford sums up the matter by saying (451–452): ". . . .and although he remains the most dazzling figure in military annals, it cannot be soberly stated that the world lost through his premature death".

If the historical judgments are generally reasonable, the same cannot always be said of the statements of fact, many of which are easily disproven and others are open to question. Out of the great number of such statements we shall call attention only to a few typical ones. Professor Botsford is right in differentiating Britain from the Cassiterides (63), despite the inde-

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cisive evidence of Herodotus and Strabo, on whose authority the two are generally identified (e.g. by T. R. Holmes, Ancient Britain [1907], Appendix, 483–498); and no fault will be found with his calling the Etruscans "decadent Minoans" (187). On the other hand, his assertion (149) that "the chief function of the oracle at Delphi was not to reveal the future" will be objected to by every student of Greek religion, and the exaggerated authority given to the historical parts of Aristotle's Constitution of the Athenians in reference to the evolution of democracy from the time of the Council of the Four Hundred (108) down to Aristides (204) will be discounted. The idea that the Persian Wars would not have ended if Persia had won Salamis and Plataea (190) is reasonable, for "there were Greek communities that would have shed their last drop of blood" in the fight for freedom; but the assertion that Thermopylae gave evidence of that fact is illogical, for the heroism of Leonidas and his men was merely the outgrowth of the Spartan military system. The picture of Europe in the event of Persian victory as "a mere appanage of Asia" is inconceivable. The greatest fact between Plataea and the advent of Pericles—479–461 B. C.—was certainly the origin and the growth of the Delian League, whose importance would have been better shown had the chapter on The Age of the War Heroes been entitled The Rise of the Delian League. The statement that the idea of a symmetrically laid out city was first conceived by the Milesian Hippodamus and applied to Pericles's reconstruction of the Piraeus (266) is discredited by Herodotus's account of Babylon. In stating the causes of the Peloponnesian War (301 f.), too much prominence is given (in following Thucydides) to the Megarian decree and to fear of Athens—the latter was certainly less in 432 than in 446 B. C.—and far too little to the economic causes, as worked out by Grundy and others. The fact is that, if Athens had succeeded in controlling the grain supply of Italy and Sicily, she would have had the Peloponnesian allies literally by the throat. The statement that Pericles's attitude toward the war may only "be inferred from circumstances" (303) is disproved by Thucydides himself, who in the speeches attributed to Pericles makes it perfectly clear that the latter willed the war. The Social War, which so aided the designs of Philip, is merely mentioned (384, 385, n. 7). The author is lukewarm in regard to the theory of Jones (Malaria and Greek History, mentioned 401, n. 16) that malaria had a marked effect on the racial vitality of Greece. The battle of Issus was not fought "in a narrow plain hemmed in by forests" (446), but in a plain bounded by mountains and the sea.

Perhaps in the field of art the author shows the least familiarity, as a very few misstatements, chosen almost at random, will disclose. In the chapter on The Minoan Age (8-30) finds from Crete are sadly mixed with those from Mycenaean sites of the mainland. The Doric order is said to be "a growth from Minoan elements" (138), without any regard to Egyptian influence. The Tenean Apollo is said to be in Boston (141). That the stuccoed and painted limestone of the temples of Syracuse and Acragas "wanted the refined beauty of marble" (210) is questionable. That the curves of Greek columns were "probably not computed mathematically" (270) is a statement which should be modified by the study of optics applied to Greek architecture by Pennethorne, Penrose, and our own Goodyear. Instead of there being only two badly mutilated heads by Skopas from Tegea (425), Mendel later discovered two others there, and, in addition, the torso of a female figure draped as an Amazon, and another head on the same scale which probably belongs to it, as both are in Parian marble (Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique 25 [1901], 257 f. and Plates IV-VIII). Praxiteles is known to have worked in bronze as well as in marble (425); Pliny, H. N. 35.69–71, gives a list of his bronze works. The Apoxyomenus of the Vatican certainly does not represent the style of Lysippus (425), except in a very diluted form, whatever we may think of the statue of Agias (426, n. 3) as the norm of Lysippan art.

The cuts are well-chosen and good. Perhaps it would have been better to follow the system used in Breasted's Ancient Times of giving fuller legends to such photographs.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Hellenic History, despite the fact that it contains much to criticise, will meet a cordial reception among College teachers of ancient history, as it is an interesting and well-balanced, if not altogether trustworthy, account of the Greek people.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS
III

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres—May-June, Note sur Julius Priscus Préfet du Prétoire de Gordien, Edouard Cuq; Note Complémentaire sur les Bas-Reliefs Découverts à Athènes dans le Mur de Thémistocle, Th. Homolle [for these see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.209–210]; Un Prétendu Fragment de Plaute en Onciale du (IV) Siècle, Emile Chatelain.

American Anthropologist—April-June, The Composition of Some Ancient Bronze in the Dawn of the Art of Metallurgy [discusses bronzes from Greece, Phoenicia, Etruria, and Crete].

Church Quarterly Review—April, A Philosopher to his Wife: Porphyry *ad Marcellam*, W. J. Ferrar [Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist, delayed the triumph of Christianity; yet he owed something to Christianity, and it owes much to him].—July, Language and Style in the New Testament, F. P. Cheetham.—Oct., The Trinities of Non-Christian Religions, F. Harold Smith [includes reference to Hermes Trismegistus, Philo, Plato, and Numenius]; Judaism and Hellenism, G. H. Box [the author seeks to do justice to both the Hellenic and the Hebraic elements in Christianity; the present tendency, he thinks, is to overemphasize the Hellenic element].

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen—July-Sept., Reviews, by M. Pohlenz, of Karl Reinhardt, Poseidonios, J. Heinemann, Poseidonios' Metaphysische Schriften, and Hans Strache, Der Eklekticismus des Antiochos von Askalon; Reviews, by Hermann Frankel, of Franz Dornseiff, Pindars Stil, and Pindar, Übersetzt und Erläutert.

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Indian Review—Oct., Great Eclipses Known in History, Jivanyi Jamshedji Modi [refers to eclipses associated with Thales, Xerxes, Pericles, Aemilius Paulus, and Drusus].

Isis—Aug., The Development of Trigonometric Methods down to the Close of the XVth Century, John David Bond [mentions several Greek mathematicians].

Lutheran Church Review—July, Notes on New Testament Greek, Robert C. Horn [a comparison of some New Testament usages with those of the Greek papyri].

National Geographic Magazine—Nov., A Sketch of the Geographical History of Asia Minor, Sir William Ramsay [an interesting, instructive article, dealing largely with the classical period].

New York Herald—June 25, One Man's View of Vergil, H. L. Pangborn [a very favorable review of Tenney Frank, Vergil: A Biography]; The City That Tried to be Rome, Helen Augur [an account of Veii, including recent discoveries on its site].—Oct. 15, Autumn Wanderlust and Some Travel Books, Ruth Kedgie Wood [mentions Greek Lands and Letters², Francis G. Allinson and Anne C. E. Allinson]; Reviews, under the caption In the Realm of Autumn Art Books, by Christian Brinton, of Ernst Buschor, Greek Vase Painting, translated by G. C. Richards, and of E. Douglas Van Buren, Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium.

New York Times—April 30, Menander as a Greek Molière, Brander Matthews [review of the translation, in the Loeb Classical Library, of the Principal Fragments of Menander, by Francis G. Allinson. The reviewer, a professor of English at Columbia University, concludes that, "if Terence is only a half Menander, Menander is not even a half Molière"].—Sept. 10, Seneca, Philosopher and Poet, Brander Matthews [reviews of Richard Mott Gummere, Seneca the Philosopher and his Modern Message, and of F. L. Lucas, Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy. The review of the former book is favorable; gaps in the other book are pointed out].—Oct. 8, The World of Art [includes a very favorable review of Ernst Buschor, Greek Vase Painting, translated by G. C. Richards].

Pedagogical Seminary—June, The Historical Background of Medieval Intellectual Interests [an attempt "to point out the more important historical causes for the decline of the scientific interests and activities of the Hellenic world"].

Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei—Nov., 1921, Orazio e l'Invidia, G. Lumbroso; l'Opera delle Missioni Archeologiche Italiane in Oriente, L. Pernier.

Revista de Ciencias Juridicas y Sociales—July-Sept., Doctrinas Filosof Co-Juridicas de Platon, Santiago Daurella y Rull [the author divides Plato's doctrines into (1) those involving the individual, (2) those affecting the group. In this article, one of a series, he discusses Plato's views on "La persona y sus derechos", comparing them with modern theory and practice].

Revue de l'Afrique du Nord—April, Les Avocats de la Rome Republicaine et Impériale [a lively and readable article].

Revue de Philosophie—July-Aug., Review, by J. Mangers, of Nic. Pfeiffer, Die Klugheit in der Ethik von Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin.

Revue Universitaire—June, Chronique du Mois, André Balz [that the Classics may not be invaded by non-essentials, higher standards should be exacted]; Bulletin de l'Enseignement Secondaire des Jeunes Filles, J. P. Crouzet ben-Aben.—July, Echos [under the subhead "Une opinion allemande sur les humanités", the author quotes from L'Avenir, a review devoted to socialism, an article written in 1911 by the German socialist Franz Mehring. Mehring emphasized the effect of a classical training on such men as Lessing, Winckelmann, and Goethe, insisted that the ancient classical languages are the most efficacious means of developing the capacity to think, and attributed to the classical Gymnasium the progress in all sciences, even in 'the most modern of all sciences, socialism'].—Oct., La Réforme de l'Enseignement Secondaire devant la Chambre, Maurice Lacroix [the question of the proper place of Greek and Latin is the leading problem of the Chambre des Députés in the matter of educational reform. The 'Moderns' pay high tribute to the Humanities, and wish to maintain the old classical curriculum, but side by side with one in which Modern Languages replace the ancient; the Classics of France, they urge, should be studied beside those of Greece and Rome or in place of them. The classicists would accept "beside", but not "instead of", in this programme].—Nov., La Réforme, etc., completed The Fédération des Professeurs de Lycée had voted, on the question whether Latin should be obligatory, Yeas 1,821, Noes 346; on whether it should be obligatory in the Fourth Class, Yeas 919, Noes 655. M. Berard, Minister of Public Instruction, would make Latin obligatory for four years, and optional thereafter; he would prefer that it be maintained throughout the course]; Chronique du Mois, André Balz [the author thinks that French institutions of higher learning in general are suffering from embarrassingly large registrations; the Section Gréco-Latine is particularly popular. But such studies are studies for the élite only; to-day everybody "veut être de l'élite"]; Bulletin de l'Enseignement Secondaire des Jeunes Filles, J. P. Crouzet ben-Aben [the writer rejoices over M. Berard's decision to adapt his proposed reforms to the education not only of boys, but of girls—among the latter the Humanities are objects of increasing favor]; Textes et Documents : Lettre de M. le Ministre <de l'Instruction Publique> aux Présidents des Commissions de l'Enseignement du Sénat et de la Chambre [pleads the cause of the Classics; proposes that for four years all students shall follow the same programme, including four years of Latin and two of Greek; that then, when they are sufficiently mature, they shall be allowed to choose between ancient and modern languages for the last two years of their course]; Echos et Nouvelles: Le Latin à l'Ecole Primaire [an argument that all social classes should have a chance to share in the privileges now reserved to the well-to-do, and so a proposal that in the Free Schools children shall, in their twelfth year, be taught Latin, by the teacher, if the teacher is competent to do so, otherwise by the Curé or the Pasteur].

HUNTER COLLEGE,
NEW YORK

E. ADELAIDE HAHN

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 165th meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday, January 5, with 38 members present.

The 'Classicist in Business' was in evidence, in a contribution from one of the members, an officer of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, now resident in Chicago, though still retaining active membership in the Club. This contribution, read, in the absence of the author, by the Secretary, was a particularly graceful variation in verse on the theme of Horace, Carm. 3.13.

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The paper of the evening was read by Professor A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College, on Some Topics from the Biography of Ovid. It was the outcome of researches made by the author in all possible sources of information concerning Ovid's life, as part of his attempt to prepare an adequate biography of the poet. This biography will appear as the introduction to the translation of the Tristia and the Epistulae ex Ponto which Professor Wheeler is preparing for the Loeb Classical Library. The paper was of unusual interest, and was exactly what might have been expected from the great learning, untiring energy, and literary skill of its author.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary*

A MODERN RUSO

Once upon a time there lived at Rome a certain Ruso, with literary ambitions. He was at first deservedly unable to get an audience for his readings of his own productions. But, being a man of means, he hit upon an expedient to remedy the defect. He lent money to persons who would not be able to pay their debt, and, when they failed to pay, he renewed the note or forgave the interest, on condition that they should come to hear him read his writings. The debtors listened with resignation such as that of a captive stretching out his throat for the priest's sacrificial knife. This, apparently, is the picture presented by Horace, Serm. 1.3.86–89, when he says that, if your friend has committed some slight fault,

> odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
> qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
> mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
> porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.

Ruso seems to have reappeared on earth in Buenos Aires, for a dispatch from that city by Associated Press Mail, dated November 16, 1922, reads as follows: "An inmate of the national penitentiary recently complained bitterly of the cruelty to which the prisoners were subjected by the governor of the establishment. A representative of La Nacion, who was sent to investigate the charge, was sympathetically received by the kindly and gentle governor, who explained that his treatment of the prisoners was marked by extreme consideration. It was only when the governor confessed that upon occasions he read poetry of his own composition to the prisoners that the mystified reporter was able to guess at the origin of the denunciation".

Truly there is nothing new; even M. Coué's slogan was anticipated by Livy, 22.39.12, in the exhortation of Fabius to Paulus: Meliores prudentiores constantiores nos tempus diesque facit.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA ROLAND G. KENT

THE EFFECT OF FIRE ON GRANITE

I notice in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.73–76, 96, references, in papers by Messrs. Sage, Horn, and Beal, to the effect of heat on stones of various kinds, and on volcanic glass.

It was my good fortune to see a very brilliant exposition of this phenomenon during the great fire in Boston, in November, 1872. The epizootic in Boston had put all the horses out of commission, and to Harvard students had been assigned the task of drawing the fire engines of Cambridge during the prevalence of this disease among the horses. I was one of the boys that dragged a fire engine from Cambridge to Boston, and, therefore, had an extraordinarily fine view of the conflagration. It was soon noticed that, when the water was turned upon the heated granite blocks of the buildings, they scaled off as if split by some unseen and invincible force. If there was a granite column, it was soon cut in two. Instead of the water helping to preserve the granite buildings, it served to destroy them speedily.

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Dr. Wiley's interesting note has set me thinking, again, of a matter that came to my mind as Professor Sage's paper (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.73–76) was passing through the press. Professor Rodolfo Lanciani, in his delightful book, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1889), has a chapter entitled Police and Fire Departments (206–230). On pages 217–221, he speaks of the frequency of fires in ancient Rome, and of the terrible destruction wrought by them. Everybody will remember, in this connection, Juvenal's description, 3.197–222 (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.121). On page 219, Professor Lanciani wrote as follows:

"In all these reports of fires, however, there is one thing which I fail to understand, and that is how fire could have attacked, injured, or altogether destroyed edifices built of marble and bronze, without a particle of timber or other combustible matter. Take, for instance, the Pantheon of Agrippa, which ancient writers assert was twice burnt,—once under Titus, once under Trajan. There is not an atom of it capable of catching fire; not even French petroleurs could do the slightest harm to it. It is also a mystery to me how the Colosseum could have been set into a blaze by a thunderbolt, on August 23, A.D. 217, and that it should have taken not less than six years to repair the damage. Still, the fact is proved by the testimony of Dion Cassius (lxxviii.25), by the coins of Severus Alexander, showing the view of the restored amphitheatre, and by the amphitheatre itself, the upper tiers of which appear to have been rebuilt in haste, with materials taken from other edifices".

Perhaps we have an answer to the thing that puzzled Professor Lanciani, in the various discussions in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, concerning the effect of fire upon stone. It may very well be that Professor Lanciani was not entirely correct in saying that the buildings to which he refers had not "a particle of timber or other combustible matter" in them or about them. We are familiar enough, unhappily, in these modern days, with the practice whereby a "fireproof" building is filled with inflammable material—partitions, furniture, etc. It may well be that there were things of this sort in the ancient buildings, even though we have no evidence to that effect.

C. K.

SIR FREDERIC KENYON'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

From February 6-24 Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, was in the United States, as the guest of The American Classical League, to speak at luncheons and dinners in behalf of classical education. On February 8 he was at Yale University, on February 9 at Harvard University, and at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. On February 10 he spoke at a dinner in Montreal, on February 13 he was at the Field Museum, Chicago, and at the University of Chicago. On February 15 he visited Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio, founded about one hundred years ago by a member of his family. On February 19 he was in Baltimore, on February 20 in Philadelphia, at the University Museum, at a reception and at a dinner. On February 21 he was at Princeton University, and at a dinner in New York, at which the Hon. Elihu E. Root presided. On February 22 he spoke, as the former President of the British Academy, at the dedication of the building of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York. On February 23, he visited the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was present in the evening at a dinner at the residence of President Butler, of Columbia University. C.K.

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The Classical Weekly is published by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, weekly, on Mondays from October 1 to May 31 inclusive, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, at Barnard College, Broadway and 120th St., New York City.

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, No. 21 MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1923 WHOLE No. 444

CLARENDON SERIES OF LATIN AND GREEK AUTHORS

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.190–191 (April 26, 1920), Mr. John W. Spaeth, Jr., reviewed an edition of Caesar's Gallic War, Books IV (20–38) and V, Partly in the Original and Partly in Translation, by R. W. Livingstone and C. E. Freeman. Mr. Spaeth was of the opinion that there was a place in our Schools for an edition of this kind.

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.33 (November 10, 1919), Professor McDaniel had suggested that College students at least might be encouraged to read, by themselves, "parts of the author that are not to be dissected in the class-room with some excellent translation at hand that will spare them most of the somewhat mechanical labor of handling a dictionary". In 13.106 (February 2, 1920), I quoted, with approval, this suggestion, and noted that I had been for some time requiring classes to read much in various authors, in translation, in the way approved by Professor McDaniel. In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.152 Professor Sage noticed three editions similar to that mentioned at the beginning of this editorial.

I am glad to call attention at this time to the fact that the Oxford University Press, American Branch, has published more such editions, in what is known as the Clarendon Series of Latin and Greek Authors. The general Editor, Professor R. W. Livingstone, maintains that the Series has four advantages: (1) more of a given author can be read than under the "old method"; (2) more attention can be given to the subject-matter of the work read. If considerable portions are read in English, "it will be impossible not to be aware of, and, it is hoped, interested in, the story"; (3) full attention may be given to linguistic and grammatical points in the Latin portions of the text; (4) the English portions "may be found useful for retranslation into Latin prose".

New volumes in the Series are the following.

(1) Aeschylus, Persae, edited with Notes and Introduction, by M. R. Ridley, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.

The Introduction treats the Persae as a drama (3), its Historical Setting (4–9), Dramatic Performances at Athens (9–15), and the Performance of the *Persae* (15–19). Note I deals with the parallel between English history before and after the Armada and Athenian history before and after Salamis (19–20), and Note II gives a brief comment on the experimental translation of the choruses contained in the volume (20).

On page 13 there is a plan of a Greek theater, which will give distress to many, because on it a "stage" is marked, and in the accompanying letter-press there is reference to the "stage". The Notes (55–61) are, I fear, too meager to be of much service to students in American Schools, or even Colleges, though, to be sure, they are supplemented by the Vocabulary (62–76). This comment is, to some extent, applicable to all the books mentioned below. But teachers, at least, can profit greatly by carrying about with them these handy books, and reading them repeatedly.

(2) Herodotus, Book VII.

This book was compiled, in 1920, by classical students at Winchester College, Summer Term. The average age of these students was exactly 16. The preparation of the translated passages and of the notes was divided among some twenty boys; the revision and collation of their material were left in the hands of three others.

The Introduction (5–21) deals with the Life and Character of Herodotus (5–12), and with Events Leading to Xerxes' Invasion (12–21). The text, which has been atticized throughout, and the English translation of the parts not given in Greek, cover pages 23–109. The book includes also Notes (111–133), and Vocabulary (134–168).

(3) Euripides, Scenes from the Trojan War, Passages Chosen from the *Iphigeniâ in Aulis*, *Rhesus* and *Trojan Women*, edited by C. E. Freeman.

The Introduction deals with The Origin of Greek Tragedy (7–8), The Dramatic Contests (8–9), The Theatre of Dionysus (9–10), Euripides (10–13), Metre (13–15), Iphigenia in Aulis (15–18), Rhesus (18–20), and The Trojan Women (20–21). In the account of the Rhesus there is no hint that the Euripidean authorship of this play has ever been questioned. Some 595 verses in all (numbered continuously) are selected from the three plays. There is nothing in the book to show from what parts of the three plays the selected verses come. The Notes cover pages 49–75, the Vocabulary pages 77–96.

(4) The Clouds of Aristophanes, edited by Cyril Bailey (the editor of the Oxford Classical Text Series edition of Lucretius, and author of a translation of Lucretius).

The Introduction deals with the date of The Clouds (5), Athens and the New Spirit (5–13), Aristophanes and his Comedies (13–17), The Clouds (17–24), and Dramatic Performances at Athens (24–30). On page 27 reappears the plan of a Greek theater found in the edition of the Persae (see above). Professor Bailey, however, to some extent discusses the question of the stage. He sums up thus (27–28):

. . .On the whole the most probable conclusion is that in the earliest permanent theatre a low platform

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. . .ran in front of the whole of the σκηνή, communicating by two or three steps, also running the whole length, with the orchestra. . . .

The text and translation together cover pages 31–82. There are also Notes (83–112), and a Vocabulary (113–133).

(5) Virgil, Aeneid I-III, edited by C. E. Freeman, with an Introduction by Cyril Bailey.

This book was published after the death of Mr. Freeman. The commentary, and that part of the Introduction which deals with The Metre of the *Aeneid* are Mr. Freeman's work (16–19). The rest of the Introduction deals with The Life and Times of Virgil (3–10), The *Aeneid* and Aeneas (10–13), and *Aeneid* I-III (14–16).

Professor Bailey refuses to believe the tradition that the Georgics was written to support Octavian's schemes for the revival of Italian agriculture. What peasant, he asks (7), or would-be farmer would read it?

. . .but there is a new spirit of wide patriotism breathing in his famous praises of Italy, and we feel that his sense of Rome's greatness and her mission is fast becoming a religion.

It was indeed this religion which was the inspiring motive of the *Aeneid*. . . .

The account of the Aeneid and of Aeneas (10–13) is well worth reading. Dr. W. Warde Fowler's studies in the Aeneid are not mentioned (there is no room in such an edition for the citation of authorities), but in what is said of the character of Aeneas—that it develops as the story proceeds—one sees clearly the influence of the theories of Dr. Fowler (see especially his book, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, in the chapter entitled Religious Feeling in the Poems of Virgil (410–425).

The text and translation (the "admirable translation", in verse, of Mr. James Rhoades) cover pages 21–94. There are also Notes (95–130), an Index of Proper Names (131–132), and a Vocabulary (133–157).

(6) Virgil, Aeneid IV-VI, edited by Cyril Alington (Headmaster of Eton).

The Introduction (5-22) deals with the poetry of Vergil (5-11), The Life of Virgil (11–13), The Method of Composition of the *Aeneid* (13–15), The Diction of Virgil (15–16), The Translators of Virgil (16–18), Books IV, V, and VI (18–20), Virgil's Eschatology (19–20), Conclusion (20–22).

The balance of the book consists of Text and Translation (that of Mr. Rhoades again) (23–96), Notes (97–121), Vocabulary (123–158).

In the pages devoted to poetry, in general, and to the poetry of Vergil, in particular (5–11), Mr. Alington says some interesting things. In his discussion of Vergil, he meets various criticisms of the Aeneid. The first point dealt with is the poet's choice of subject. Mr. Alington believes (6) that Vergil wrote the Aeneid to please Augustus, exactly as he had written the Georgics to please Maecenas,

. . .but it has never been suggested that the love of Italy shown in the latter poem was assumed for the purpose, and it is equally certain that the belief in the destiny of Rome which inspires the *Aeneid* was a real and a profound sentiment in the poet's heart.

Mr. Alington then declares (7–8) that the weakness of Vergil's subject comes "not from its national character, but from the supernatural colour which he found it necessary to give it". He makes the point, that has been made, of course, by others (e. g. by Professor Gilbert Norwood: see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.118), that one difficulty with the Aeneid to a modern lies in the gods that figure so prominently in the poem (8).

. . .It is the paradox of Roman official religion that, while the story of the nation's destiny is full of dignity and pathos, the gods who are alleged to guide it are consistently undignified and not infrequently absurd.

The supernatural machinery, further, hurts the poem, in Mr. Alington's judgment, by making the Aeneid what has been called "an epic of fatalism" (8).

Finally, Mr. Alington deals (9–10) with the often discussed question of Vergil's originality.

(7) Apuleius: Cupid and Psyche. By H. E. Butler.

The Introduction (5–26) deals with the following matters: The Story of Cupid and Pysche (5–14); Apuleius (14–20); The Style of Apuleius (20–23); The Ancient Novel (23–26).

Professor Butler thinks (25) it probable that The Golden Ass of Apuleius is an expansion of the work by Lucius of Patras; Apuleius did not, however, derive from Lucius the story of Cupid and Psyche.

. . .For this lovely story he is our one authority, though here again we have evidence that there was a Greek version of the tale by a certain Aristophontes of unknown date.

In conclusion, I note that in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.85–87, Professor H. W. Prescott, in his review of the dissertation by Dr. B. Perry, The Metamorphoses Ascribed to Lucius of Patrae: Its Content, Nature, and Authorship, characterizes as "apparently reasonable" (85) the conclusion that

. . .the Lucianic Asinus is an epitome of the first two books of Lucius's Greek work, and that Apuleius followed mainly the same two books of Lucius, but freely interpolated other material, some of it from other Greek sources.

C. K.

REPETITION IN HOMER AND TENNYSON

(*Concluded from page 158*)

Now let us take an entirely different species of repetition. I have said that Homer uses the same poetical idea over and over again. The similes are a very familiar case. The lion, for instance, is the subject of some thirty or forty of these. But Homer does the same in the general course of his narratives, and the hounds of criticism get their noses to the ground at once and run to earth a dishonest misappropriator of other people's goods. But we find exactly the same thing in In Memoriam. Tennyson works the same ideas into his verse time after time. I would not lay stress on such a recurrence as that in the three lines, "And find in love a gain to match", "And turns his burthen into gain", "My sudden frost was sudden

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gain", or on the repeated references to communion with the dead and to the relief which comes from the outpouring of the spirit in grief. These are all so close to the main subject of the elegy[7]. But I find no less than a dozen allusions to the return and the beauties of spring. There are three to the mellowing influence of the fall of the year—"And Autumn laying here and there A fiery finger on the leaves"; "These leaves that redden to the fall"; and "Unloved that beech will gather brown, That maple burn itself away". To these might be added repeated references to the beauty peculiar to effects of distance in the landscape, to the rise of man from the ape or from the condition of the brute, to the twinship of Sleep and Death, and others. And who finds fault? Who would compel the poet to be ever seeking fresh words, or complain of poverty of genius, as is done in the case of the epics? But this sameness when detected in Homer has been regarded as an enormity, and the passages are but stubble to the fire of the all-devouring critic.

I turn for a moment to the Idylls. It has often been remarked that Tennyson is Homeric; as a fact he is, so to speak, saturated with the Iliad and the Odyssey. And most Homeric of all his work is that which comes nearest to the epic in character. For it I had not the help of a Concordance, but, by repeated reading and marking, I was able to satisfy myself that there is hardly a kind of repetition in Homer that I could not find in the Idylls. Repeated passages abound. There is also a body of commonplace like Homer's. You have the epithet and with the same profuseness—the dismal or the dreary night, the hazy sea, the waste or solitary downs—; and the standing epithet—the lily maid, the blameless king, our fair father Christ; and the repeated phrase—as name and fame, a deathless love, made a realm, down the slope city, and so on; and the formula, "But when the next sun breaks from underground", "Then spake the hoary chamberlain", or "Then spake the little novice garrulously". We even find instances of repetition among the similes with which the Idylls are so freely decorated, and which can be classified, like Homer's, according to the objects which furnish the comparisons[8]. Poets have their favorites, which come unbidden when the need for an image or an illustration arises. Now an old friend and accomplished English scholar, to whom I mentioned this, at once referred me to Tennyson's own words (in The Epic), "Why take the style of those heroic times? For nature brings not back the Mastodon, Nor we those times; and why should any man Remodel models? these twelve books of mine Were faint Homeric echoes, nothing worth, Mere chaff and draff, much better burnt", which may be taken as a confession of imitation of the great Greek exemplar to all epic poets. But, imitation or not, the system of repetition is there in all its fullness, and, if it does no violence in the English poem, we are not to condemn it as per se an objectionable feature in Homer.

So far I have made no reference to another kind of repetition, that which is made inside the individual passage for the sake of poetical effect. That is an entirely different matter. For Tennyson it has been dealt with very exhaustively in a little book which is from the pen of a professor in a French Lycée, M. Emile Lauvriére, but written in English, and entitled Repetition and Parallelism in Tennyson (London, 1910). Another work on the same subject, Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse, by an American scholar[9], is more general in its scope, though most of it is devoted to illustrative instances from Poe and Swinburne, two poets who, one might say, made a speciality of this particular kind of effect. Here again it startles one to find how large an element it is in Tennyson's poetry. M. Lauvriére's enumeration of instances occupies about a hundred closely printed pages. It is hardly necessary to quote specimens. Take the verses in In Memoriam from a song every stanza of which commences with the word 'calm'—"Calm and deep peace in this wide air, These leaves that redden to the fall, And in my heart, if calm at all, If any calm, a calm despair". The device is used with beautiful effect, generally in skilful combination with an element

[7] I wish to call attention here to something written, without any knowledge at all of Mr. Shewan's paper, by a distinguished American Homeric scholar, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, of the University of Vermont, which seems to me to have very direct bearing upon the subject of repetition in Homer, and other poets, ancient and modern. The passages I have in mind are to appear in Professor Bassett's review of Heinrich Peters, Zur Einheit der Ilias, which will be published in the current volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, and run as follows:

"We imagine that the fundamental difference between Homer and all other great world poets will be found to consist in the *immediate* application, that is, without the intermediation of long *literary* development, of great creative and formative power to the simple story-teller's art and manner. The latter include above all else the repetition of familiar ideas and actions, and an ever-present regard for the economy of the listener's attention. . . .".

". . .Furthermore, Peters uses in his schematic arrangement the repeated phrase and verse, forgetting, we think, that there may be another explanation for the repetition than the desire for symmetry. Granted the custom of using over and over again the same formula, there are two principles which govern its use: sameness of theme and sameness of the poet's mood. One can easily note that in portions of the poem that are most continuous, that is, in the separate episodes, there are peculiarities of this kind. This is natural for any composer, especially if the making of the whole work lasts for years: the different parts of Gray's Elegy, for example, exhibit this influence of sameness of theme or of mood or of both. . .". C. K.

[8] For such a classification, by Professor Eliza G. Wilkins, See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.147–150, 154–159. C. K.

[9] C. Alfonso Smith, Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse (New York, 1894). Mention should be made also of H. M. Poteat, The Function of Repetition in Latin Poetry, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12 (1919), 139–142, 145–150, and to Professor Poteat's dissertation, Repetition in Latin Poetry, With Special Reference to the Metrical Treatment of Repeated Words (privately printed, 1912: for a review of it see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9 [1915], 32). See also Francis B. Gummere, A Handbook of Poetics, 118–120 (Boston, Ginn, 1892); Frank Frost Abbott, The Use of Repetition in Latin to Secure Emphasis, Intensity, and Distinctness of Impression, University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology 3 (1902); E. Wölfflin, Die Gemination im Lateinischen (Sitzungsberichte der. . . Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, 1882).

I add references to notes on repetition which are to be found in various editions of Latin authors (many more could easily be found); Munro, Lucretius[4], on 4.1259, 2.452; W. A. Merrill, on Lucretius 3.145, 4.1259; E. A. Sonnenschein, critical note on Plautus, Most. 12 (first edition, 1884); E. T. Merrill, on Catullus 62.28; T. E. Page, on Horace, Carm. 1.2.4, 1.32.11, 1.35.15, 2.14.1, 3.3.18, 3.5.21, 4.13.1, Epodes 1.21, 17.1; C. H. Moore, on Horace, Carm. 1.13.1, 1.35.15, 2.14.1–2, 2.17.10, 3.3.18, and his Introduction, pages 32–33; Paul Shorey, on Horace, Carm. 1.13.1, and Introduction, xvii-xx (in this connection see the paper by Grace Harriet Goodale, A Glance at the Lyric Vocabulary of Horace, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10 [1917], 122–126, 174, and Professor Shorey's remarks on this paper, *ibid.*, 173–174); Haskin and Heitland, Lucan, Introduction, lxxxi-lxxxiv (London, 1887); Charles Knapp, edition of the Aeneid, Introduction, §§ 263–266, and Index, under the caption Repetition, pages 574–575; Friedländer on Martial 1.36.1 (Leipzig, 1886). C. K.

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of contrast, in the lyrics which sparkle through the Idylls. "Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel, and lower the proud, Turn they wild wheel"; "O dewy flowers that open to the sun, O dewy flowers that close when day is done"; "O birds that warble to the morning sky, O birds that warble as the day goes by". In "A rose, but one, none other rose had I, A rose, one rose, and this was wondrous fair, One rose, a rose, that gladden'd earth and sky, One rose, my rose", etc., some might think the poet borders on excess, and that there is what an American humorist would call a too roseate flush over the little song. Now this is a kind of repetition which no poet disdains to use. It is not common in Homer, for Homer has few affectations. No poet, it has been said, is more free from tricks of style. He does not labor for effect; there is no self-consciousness, no preciosity, no 'Bird of Paradise' diction. But he does know, as few have known, how to manipulate the meter, so as to work the really telling word or phrase into the best place in the line, and this does lead him into the occasional use of repetition of the kind I am now discussing. And he suffers for it at the hands of the micrologist. In one beautiful episode he commences four consecutive lines with the same preposition. The comment is that only a 'Stümper', which is German for 'duffer', could be guilty of such bad taste. Yet examples from English poetry could be adduced in any number, and I doubt not from German poetry too. What of Shelley's lines, "When the lamp is shattered, When the cloud is scattered, When the lute is broken", and so forth? In the Holy Grail I find 9 out 11 consecutive lines beginning with 'of'. But any stick is, or once was, good enough to be used on the Homeric body[10].

But to return to our own province. I think it may be said that great similarity has been established, in regard to repetition, between the Homeric epics and some of Tennyson's poems—much more, I think, than any one would suspect who has not delved in the texts. I remember, and it is perhaps worth mentioning, that Mr. Andrew Lang, who knew Tennyson well, was greatly astonished when he saw the instances set out, and wanted the whole typed and sent off to the poet's son at once.

One might say much more on the subject from the Homeric point of view, but it will perhaps suffice to glance at one or two of its developments. So arbitrary did the practice of some critics become that it would sometimes overleap itself. A practitioner, anxious to prove one passage later than another, would proclaim it so, because he wished it so, in ignorance of the fact that another inquirer had already decided it was earlier, because he wanted it that way. One recalls and appreciates Mr. Lang's definition of criticism as "a more or less agreeable way of airing one's personal preferences". Another plan was to damn a passage by contemptuously calling it a cento, even when the familiar lines in it were mostly of the 'Gemeingut', and free by epic practice to the poet to employ when and as often as he pleased. Iliad 8 is said to be largely a cento; yet, according to Dr. Leaf, it is distinguished by "great spirit and movement" (see Dr. Leaf's commentary on the Iliad², Volume 1, page 332 [1900]). There was a period in the ancient world when there flourished writers, if one may so designate them, who were artists in the construction of the cento. You have specimens of these centos or mosaics in English too. In early Christian days, the narratives of the New Testament were told afresh in lines from Homer strung together to make a sort of sense; but anything more horribly 'dreich' than these congeries of lines torn from different contexts is not to be imagined. Yet we are asked to believe that a 'Flick-Poet', as the Germans called him, could breathe spirit and movement into these heaps of dry bones. And yet another enterprise was to discover that a repeated line was a parody, and a determined but unsuccessful attempt has even been made to show that parody of the Iliad prevails in the Odyssey.

But generally the inference was of borrowing or imitation, and that can be referred to here only by the way. For Homer one has of course to consider the particular case, and it amazes one to see in how many instances the eagerness of the repetition-hunter led him into error or even absurdity. The charge of imitation or borrowing is an easy charge to bring and one that is easily made plausible. But it is also a dangerous one to make, unless you are quite sure your victim is past replying to your criticism. I often wish, as I read the notes in the Eversley Tennyson, many of them words from the poet's own lips, that we could know what Homer says to the myriad objections of his critics, if he and Lucian converse on the Mead of Asphodel, as they did once in another extramundane sphere. In Tennyson's case, as you are no doubt well aware, both critics and editors were fond of tracing the influence of other poets, ancient and modern, in his work, and of suggesting the sources of some of his ideas. As an example, the volume of Tennysonia, published after In Memoriam, indicated many parallels between that poem and Shakespeare's Sonnets. The poet of course did not like this, and repudiated the suggestion with warmth. He spoke of such trackers as

> . . .a prosaic set, who impute themselves to the poet and so believe he too has no imagination, but is for ever poking his nose between the pads of some old volumes in order to see what he can appropriate.

The individual known as the 'literary detective' no doubt goes too far; but, unless competent judges are far astray, Tennyson's works do furnish—and what voluminous writer's works would not furnish?—examples of influence of the kind. When, for instance, we read in the Marriage of Geraint, "And still she looked, and still her terror grew", we can hardly avoid recalling a familiar and much older line. Chance similarity will not be generally accepted, but it is not to be excluded absolutely. I remember reading that a couplet in one of Tennyson's poems was found to be an almost literal translation from a Chinese poem; yet Tennyson certainly did not know Chinese, the poem had never been translated: it had never (I think) been published. A case like that, in which causal connection is impossible, enjoins caution. For another

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instance I might refer to the controversy which Campbell carried on as to the originality of his poem The Last Man. He had to give in at last, and to close the fight with the admission, "original ideas are few; only the modes of putting them are countless". An American authority went further when he said that "originality can be expected from nobody save a lunatic, a hermit, or a sensational novelist". But surely it is easy to understand how even the great maker of poetry may occasionally appropriate, half consciously, the form of some happy phrase or line of a predecessor which has impressed itself on his mind, as his imagination plays over old, old ground, selecting, fusing, and transmuting into new forms of beauty. Two at least of the loveliest stanzas in Gray's Elegy go back to Roman poetry. It has been said of Horace and the Greek models to whom he paid so much respect, that "he would still be Horace, if Alcaeus and the nine lyric poets were to rise from the dead". Where imitation is not frankly admitted, the question is between borrowing and undesigned coincidence, and any one interested in the point may peruse with advantage a chapter in Mr. Lang's last work, Shakespeare, Bacon and the Great Unknown, in which Mr. Churton Collins's belief that Shakespeare's mind was (as Mr. Lang puts it) "saturated with Roman and Athenian literature" is carefully examined.

But this, as I have said, is beyond my strict limits. I had proposed to show how the support from these repetitions for Homeric hypotheses which we hope are now but creeds outworn can be neturalized to a certain extent by comparing other poetry. I feel sure that the work of any poet would yield useful results, always provided, of course, that there be a sufficiently large volume of it. I quite recently, with the aid of an inferior Concordance, examined the occurrences of four common words in Paradise Lost. It found very much the same way as I found in In Memoriam in regard to types of phrases and the positions usurped by certain words. Vergil's poetry abounds in repetitions, and used to be made the basis of attacks very similar to the more sustained bombardment to which the Iliad and the Odyssey were subjected, till at last a German scholar went into the matter, and showed that the repetitions were of a quite innocent nature[10]. For Horace and for Plautus I have two treatises[11], in which the tireless industry of the Germans has collected particulars of repeated matter in these two classics. The aggregate would, I feel sure, amaze any one who had not given attention to the point[12].

I used to be familiar with a literature, the Persian, in which there arose—perhaps, as I am writing from memory, I had better say, in which certain authors observed—a practice which is worth mentioning in this connection. Repetition of the identical word was avoided until the writer had to use it again. Every synonym was pressed into service; it was a point of honor to exhaust all possible equivalents. Now Persian can extend its own store by drawing on Arabic to any extent which an author pleases, and Arabic is a language with a very copious vocabulary. It has many terms for quite common objects, as, say 'lion' and 'sword', and words are used in many meanings. A friend once remarked to me that, if you looked at any word in the Lexicon with a variety of significations, you might be sure that one was 'camel'. So the result of the practice described was very horrific to a foreign student of Persian. It must have been anything but helpful to the native reader, for of course many of the words used were far from being synonymous. Sense and clearness were sacrificed to a mere idea. In the case of the Greek epic there was no such artificial and unnatural development. But who shall say what might have happened to that wonderful 'Gemeingut', if a Homer had not arisen?

My interest in these repetitions ceased for a time some years ago, and it was only when I had to select a subject for this paper that I reverted to them. Renewed attention has suggested new reflections. One might point out how the stock phrase or standing formula has still a dominant influence, especially in minor forms of literature, or discourse on the limitations which fashion imposes and the expedients which we mean men have to resort to, when struggling with a limited repertoire of phraseology, and the convention which (in Tennyson's words) "beats us down" in this as in so many other matters.

I will mention only one more point. The user of slang and the old epic bard have this much in common—a tendency to economize phraseology by keeping to a store of fixed terms and formulae. They are unlike in this, that, while we are often compelled to stare and gasp, as we ponder on the exact purport of this verbal shorthand with which our ears are assailed, and wonder if it is meant to apply to A or to not-A, we never have the least doubt what Homer wishes to convey to us. He is as clear-voiced as his own Nestor, as direct as his own Achilles, who detested all ambiguity as he hated the gates of Hades. The passages which leave a doubt as to their meaning might be numbered, it has been said, on the fingers of the two hands, and the fault in these may not be their writer's. Can you say that of many modern poets who have written as much? Would that they all gave us as little trouble when our feet are on the fender! Had Homer written Sordello, we should not have had a lady asking herself, after she had read the poem, whether Sordello was the name of a man, of a town, or of a book, or a brother poet, Tennyson himself, com-

[10]Carl Rothe, Die Bedeutung der Wiederholungen für die Homerische Frage (1890).

[11]T. Fritzsche, Die Wiederholungen bei Horaz (Güstrow, 1903); H. Kellermann, De Plauto Sui Imitatore (Leipzig, 1903).

[12]Studies of repetition in other Greek and Roman writers may be noted here (titles in < > were supplied by C. K.). See note 9, above: R. Woellfel, Gleich- und Anklänge bei Aeschylus (Bamberg, 1906); Hermann Buss, De Bacchylide Homeri Imitatore (Giessen, 1913); P. F. Kretschmer, De Iteratis Hesiodeis (Breslau, 1913); Karl Hosius, De Imitatione Scriptorum Romanorum Imprimis Lucani (Greifswald, 1907); <Elizabeth Breazeale, Polyptoton in the Hexameters of Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil, University of North Carolina Studies in Philology 14 (1915), 306–318 (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.57) > <George Howe, A Type of Verbal Repetition in Ovid's Elegy, University of North Carolina Studies in Philology 13 (1906), 81 ff. (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.57):> <Albert Lueneberg, De Ovidio Sui Imitatore (Jena, 1888);> E. Albrecht, Wiederholte Verse und Verstheile bei Vergil, Hermes 16 (1881), 393–444. P. X. M. J. Roiron, Étude sur l'Imagination Auditive de Virgile (Paris, 1908).

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plaining that the only two lines he understood were the first and the last.

I have left to the last what is after all the main consideration in explanation of repetition. We have seen that in an early age there was no disinclination to it. On another aspect, which might have been greatly expanded, I have only touched—the influence of meter. The subject-matter of a poem, again, when it is of considerable length, must operate in the direction of a certain sameness of language. The theme tends to prescribe bounds within which thought and diction are confined[13]. But over all there is the fact that human capacity for expressing ideas in words is limited. The ambition to be always saying a thing in a new way, or rather to avoid saying it in an old way, is one which cannot be gratified beyond a certain point. One might, here, quite by the way suggest an analogy from music. I have no title to speak, but even to my limited perception there are, in songs and hymn tunes, sequences, sometimes long sequences, of notes which are familiar in other tunes. One pictures the musical composer as subject to the limitations in variety of expression which I have been mentioning in the case of the writer.

Oddly enough, I have, while writing this paper, seen the consideration just stated expressed in recent utterances by two men of letters. Mr. Frederic Harrison, in closing his chats on his books in his new volume, Among My Books, says (122), "human language does not expand with infinite rapidity, and the forms of human expression are not infinitely numerous nor infinitely variable". The other statement, which I have chanced on in a mere extract, is more forcible and more comprehensive. Dr. Edmund Gosse says,

. . .I am bound to say that in my opinion the best poetry has all been written. As a result, the young poet who is familiar with every mode of expression that has been employed by writers in the past, feels that he is not allowed to use sufficiently natural and obvious expressions. All that is left him, therefore, is either to be very violent or very obscure, and I am afraid that this difficulty is not a mere passing one, but will more and more fatally affect those people who write in languages like English and French, which are worn and rubbed as it were by use, like coins that have been long current.

Now I had no idea, when I began to write, that things were so bad with us. One has heard a contemporary poet (Sir William Watson) lament the "immelodious days" in which his lot is cast. The Muse, though "with us still, Is less divinely frenzied than of yore, In lieu of feelings she has wondrous skill, To simulate emotion felt no more". But of course one has to allow for the natural modesty of the singer. Again, I have seen the present day described by the critical and somewhat unfriendly onlooker as a period of fallow, but a fallow is only a temporary arrangement, and it is usually followed by a time of increased fruitfulness. I have also seen the comparison made to a level plain, studded indeed with excrescences, but with no towering mountain-peaks of song; but it had not occurred to me that the mighty forces which make such everlasting hills were at rest for ever in the sleep of utter exhaustion. Dr. Gosse, however, takes the gloomier view. He anticipates that the great poetry of the future will have to be written (I quote his words again)

. . .in languages which have not so extensive and complicated literatures, and in which simple things can still be said without affectation and without repetition.

I think some will consider this a piece of pessimism which invites discussion. Far be it from me to engage, impar congressus. But, if Dr. Gosse be correct, we are working towards a time when our poets will cease to charm us because the sources of expression will have been used up, and originality will be a sheer impossibility. In a slightly altered sentence of Wordsworth's[14], "their only occupation would be endless imitation".

ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND A. SHEWAN

[13] See note 7, above. C. K.

[14] The original is in the Ode on Intimations of Immortality.

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB SECOND LATIN SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

In the competitive scholarship examination of The New York Classical Club, held at Hunter College, New York City, on January 20, the Latin Scholarship was won by Nathan Fein, of Morris High School, with a rating of 83%; honorable mention was awarded to Alice Glasgow, of Washington Irving High School, and to Margaret Goodell, of Wadleigh High School. The Greek Scholarship was won by Eva Rosenberg, of Eastern District High School, with a mark of 90%; honorable mention was given to Bella Steinberg, of Wadleigh High School.

The twenty-three candidates that tried for the Latin scholarship, and the three that tried for the Greek scholarship, came from ten different Schools. These figures were slightly above the average for the January examinations, except for the Greek candidates. For the examinations held in June, the figures are naturally much higher, so that, although the ambitions of the Club along these lines are far from being realized as yet, there is no reason for discouragement. In fact, the number of Greek pupils of the first and the second years seems to show a decided increase in certain Schools, so that there is reason to expect a larger number of Greek competitors in the future. There is also a movement on foot to make the amount of the Greek Scholarship, which is at present $75, equal to the amount of the Latin Scholarship ($150).

For further details concerning the Scholarships of the New York Classical Club, reference may be made to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.191.

HARWOOD HOADLEY

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF GREATER BOSTON

A joint meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts Section of The Classical Association of New England and The Classical Club of Greater Boston was held on February 10, at Harvard University, with the following programme: A Word of Welcome, Professor Donald Cameron, of Boston University, President of the Section; Missionaries for the Classics, Cecil T. Derry, Cambridge Latin School; The Werewolf, Frank A. Kennedy, Boston Girls' High School; Lantern Talk, The Roman Province of Africa, Professor Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; Quomodo Vergilius Iuvenis E Fontibus Lucretianis Hausit, J. Kingsbury Colby, Milton Academy; Lantern Talk, Ancient Jewelry, Dr. Stephen B. Luce.

ALBERT S. PERKINS, *Censor*

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THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The Classical Club of Philadelphia held its 166th meeting on Friday, February 9, with forty-two members present.

Professor Walton B. McDaniel read the paper of the evening, on Antiquities and Pseudo-Antiquities: Their Source and Sale. He gave sage counsel to prospective buyers in Italy, and an account of the methods employed in counterfeiting. After mentioning a few criteria for determining the spurious, he gave a highly amusing account of some of his personal experiences.

The 167th meeting of the Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday, March 9, with 28 members present. The paper of the evening, on Basic Values in Language, was read by Dr. Robert J. Kellogg, Professor in the University of Oklahoma, at present Harrison Research Fellow of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Kellogg pointed out first the essential psychological form of human language as the joint product and dominant expression of the rational and social life of man. Language therefore presents itself as a complete linguistic organization of the individual's mental life, as an act of communication, as the standard language of some community or some cultural movement, as the repository and vehicle of individual and collective experience, of social order, customs, laws, and institutions.

From these essential characteristics of language follow inevitably its disciplinary, humanistic, practical, and philological values.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary*

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The midwinter meeting and luncheon of The New York Classical Club took place on Saturday, February 17, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The guests of honor were Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, ex-Minister to Greece, and Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, former Ambassador to Italy.

Professor Capps delivered the main address, on Scholarship and Diplomacy in Athens. Under Scholarship, he spoke of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, its small beginning in 1881, its growth, its influence on American museums and on American classical teaching, and its present great opportunity for enlarged activity. This opportunity is due to the recent expansion of Greek territory to include Macedonia, Thrace, and the Islands, where Turkish rule has heretofore made research difficult. Under more liberal laws scholars will now be able to extend their inquiries in history and art beyond the classical period to the Christian and the Byzantine periods.

Another great opportunity is presented to the American School in the gift of the almost priceless library of Dr. Johannes Gennadius, who for thirty years represented Greece at the Court of St. James. This library is a gift to the Greek people, but is to be "in the custody of the American School of Classical Studies". It contains rare books on Greek art and history from the earliest times through the Byzantine Age and is rich in manuscripts and art bindings (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.208). To house this great library the Carnegie Foundation has given the American School $250,000; and the Greek Government, in spite of pressing national anxieties, has generously donated the land for the building.

In the second part of his topic, Professor Capps dwelt on the uniform generosity and hospitality shown to the American School by the Greek authorities.

He urged also that American Classical Clubs make it possible for a greater number of promising students to go to Athens and profit by the immense advantages the American School has to offer.

At the luncheon Mr. Johnson read several of his poems that deal with Greek matters.

MARGARET Y. HENRY, *Censor*

LIVY 21.37. 2–3 AGAIN

Another modern parallel to the interesting account of Livy 21.37.2–3, to accompany Professor Sage's article, A Chemical Interpretation of Livy 21.37.2 (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16. 73–76), and the notes on the same topic by Messrs. Horn, Beal, Wiley, and Knapp (16. 76, 96, 128), is contained in the following letter, addressed to the London Morning Post of February 10, 1923, by an anonymous correspondent:

Another guess as to how the Cleopatra's Needles now adorning Central Park, New York City, and public places in London and Paris may have been cut from the rock and transported is given by an anonymous correspondent to the Morning Post. His letter, however, is àpropos the discovery at Assouan, Egypt, of a gigantic monolith nearly twice the size of the Needles. He says:

"My father, a retired Madras civilian of forty years' service, told me, about the time Cleopatra's Needle was being cased for transport to London, how equally large monoliths were cut out and transported in certain parts of India, where he had been stationed as a judge. A suitable horizontal layer of granite, exposed in the cliff face of some river, having been selected, a shallow trench was scraped in the superincumbent soil, in which a fire of brushwood and grass was kept going day and night for three weeks by the population of the neighboring village.

By this time the thin line of granite exposed in the shallow trench was intensely hot. Then the activities of all the villagers were employed in carrying up water in bamboos and chatties and on a given signal the remains of the fire were raked out of the earthen trench and the water poured in. The granite cracked from end to end along the line of the trench.

Then dry wooded wedges were driven into the fissure. These wedges were wetted, and, swelling, opened the crack still wider. Thicker dry wedges were driven in and they were wetted, and so on from day to day during the dry season. Meanwhile, the river being low, masses of bamboos and grass were piled on the river bed at the foot of the low cliff and roped together to form a cushion and a raft. The constant wedging over of the monolith in time overturned it on to the raft, where it was made fast and so transported to its destination".

WILLIAM PENN CHARTER SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, PA. JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

A LINCOLN PARALLEL

Just prior to the departure of the Athenian fleet on its ill-fated expedition to Sicily, the Athenians awoke one morning to find that the statues of Hermes had been mutilated during the night. Charges were brought against Alcibiades, but, according to Plutarch, Alcibiades 20, no conclusive evidence was adduced by the informers. I call attention to the following sentences (in Professor Perrin's translation):

. . .One of them, indeed, was asked how he recognized the faces of the Hermae-defacers, and replied, "By the light of the moon". This vitiated his whole story, since there was no moon at all when the deed was done.

An interesting parallel to this occurs in the famous Armstrong trial in which Lincoln defended the son of

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friends, who was accused of being implicated in a murder. Miss Ida M. Tarbell, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, 1.272–273, recounts the story as follows:

As the trial developed it became evident that there could have been no collusion between Armstrong and Norris, but there was strong evidence that Armstrong had used a slung-shot. The most damaging evidence was that of one Allen, who swore that he had seen Armstrong strike Metzker about ten or eleven o'clock in the evening. When asked how he could see, he answered that the moon shone brightly. Under Lincoln's questioning he repeated the statement until it was impossible that the jury should forget it. With Allen's testimony unimpeached, conviction seemed certain. . . .

In closing <Lincoln> reviewed the evidence, showing that all depended on Allen's testimony, and this he said he could prove to be false. Allen never saw Armstrong strike Metzker by the light of the moon, for at the hour when he said he saw the fight, between ten and eleven o'clock, the moon was not in the heavens. Then producing an almanac, he passed it to the judge and jury. The moon, which was on that night only in its first quarter, had set before midnight. This unexpected overthrow of the testimony by which Lincoln had taken care that the jury should be most deeply impressed, threw them into confusion. There was a complete change of feeling. Lincoln saw it; and as he finished his address, and the jury left the room, turning to the boy's mother he said, "Aunt Hannah, your son will be free before sundown".

Lincoln had not misread his jury. Duff Armstrong was discharged as not guilty[1].

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

A LATIN FORM TEST FOR USE IN HIGH SCHOOL CLASSES

Readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY will doubtless be interested to know that in the High School Journal, which is published by the School of Education, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for December, 1922, there is reprinted from an earlier volume of that periodical an article entitled A Latin Form Test For Use in High School Classes, by Lawrence L. Lohr (5.217–223).

Single copies, by the way, of the High School Journal can be obtained at 25 cents. The Business Manager is Miss Louise Coffey. C. K.

THE WATER LILY[1]

Informata puellula
Arte mirifica adstiti
Nuda in margine rivuli,
Eheu! sola relicta.

Bellam perdidi amiculam;
At tamen tenera viden
Lilium modo me manu
Decerpsisse palustre?

Vobis praetereuntibus
Velim iam monumenta sint
Illius gracilis mea
Non incondita membra.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY FRANK GARDNER MOORE

[1] I remember very vividly a similar situation in a book which I read before I went to College. Its name I do not now recall, nor is it worth while to take the time to track it down. I know that it was one of the many stories for boys written by the Rev. Elijah Kellogg. The hero of the story was charged with having stolen a certain sum of money. A fellow deck-hand, himself guilty of the theft, swore at the trial that he had seen the hero steal the money—he had seen this by the light of the moon. The young lawyer for the defence won his legal spurs by proving that on the night in question there was a brand new moon.

C. K.

[1] On a fountain figure, and in memory of a little girl, (acrostic).

THE STUDY OF LATIN AS AN AID TO SUCCESS IN COLLEGE

In The Grand Rapids School Bulletin for January, 1923 (2.6–7), there was an article, by Miss Marion L. Jennings, of Union High School, Grand Rapids, entitled The Showing of an Investigation Into the Failures in Scholarship in the Freshman Class of 1920 at the University of Michigan.

It appears that, at the close of the first semester, 156 of the 1,600 students in this class were required to leave the University, because they failed as students in the College. Dr. Canfield, Head of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Michigan, made a study of the High School preparation of these 1,600 students.

". . .Dr. Canfield tabulated the preparation of the students for their work as to subjects taken, and a graph was made showing the curve upward toward greater success in College work or downward in the direction of failure.

Of the 1,600 students, in the case of those who had studied Mathematics or Science or both for one, two, three, or four years the variation in the graph was negligible, so slight it was.

In the case of students taking History, those who pursued it for one year met a degree of success in college work greater than that of those who presented credit for two years of History. The ones presenting two years had the advantage over those who had offered three years of credit and the latter over the students with four years of preparation in History. And as a whole there was no indication that the pursuit of this study had tended to an upward curve in the graph.

The case of Foreign Languages was followed equally carefully. Those who presented two or more years of French showed little variation in the graph. Students presenting two or more years of Spanish had an upward curve in the graph. Students with Latin for one, two, three or four years showed a decided upward curve. In many cases the combination of Latin with Spanish or French or both was offered—the graph curving rapidly upward. In the cases of students who had studied two or more foreign languages in connection with Latin the showing was markedly toward success in college work.

The conclusions drawn from the findings in this investigation are that the study of foreign languages affords a training that contributes directly and practically toward success in college work. While one out of four without such training succeeded in freshman year, of those who had from two to four years of training in foreign language study three out of four met success in college work". C. K.

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Aceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

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RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

To the Loeb Classical Library much space has been devoted in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY: see 5.126–127, 6.82–86, 7.192, 9.49, 12.49–50, 57–58, 65–66, 13.145–147, 153–154, 161–162, 169–170, 15.187–190, 197–199, 215.

In the last year or so important additions were made to the Library.

(1) Lyra Graeca: Being the Remains of all the Greek Lyric Poets from Eumelus to Timotheus, Excepting Pindar, translated by J. M. Edmonds, Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. This is the first of three volumes. Mr. Edmonds gives a translation of the fragments of Eumelus, Terpander, Alcman, Sappho, and Alcaeus.

In his Preface (vii) Mr. Edmonds explains that part of his purpose is to supply a new edition of the text of the melic fragments, a text which, thanks to discoveries made during the last forty years, especially through the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund and like Societies, has long been overdue. The last preceding edition, that of Bergk, entitled Poetae Lyrici Graeci, Mr. Edmonds finds lacking in two respects. First, Bergk quotes too little of the context or setting within which the several fragments are inserted. Mr. Edmonds thinks that, in at least half the cases, the explanations that the fragments so sorely need may be got from the very context in which the fragments are found. Hence, he himself gives the context in full. By so doing, he has earned the gratitude of all students of these fragments; it is to be hoped that this precedent will always be followed by future editors and translators of fragments. My own study of the fragments of Ennius, for example, long ago convinced me of the importance of the context in which fragments are found. Secondly, Mr. Edmonds has included something not to be found in Bergk—the chief passages of ancient literature which throw light on the life and the personality of the poets and their literary reputation in antiquity. Another thing, which Mr. Edmonds describes as a "feature peculiar to this edition", is more likely to provoke discussion and controversy. This feature is "the inclusion of a considerable number of restorations made *exempli gratia* of passages preserved only in paraphrase". These restorations are mainly Mr. Edmonds's own work. Mr. Edmonds explains (ix) that all restorations have been checked wherever possible by a palaeographical method explained and exemplified by him in various articles in classical periodicals.

I can perhaps best give a definite idea of Mr. Edmonds's book by setting down some details about the pages devoted to Sappho (140–307). The material given is divided into two parts: The Life of Sappho (140–181), and the Poems of Sappho (181–307). In the former part, passages are given, with translations, from Stobaeus, Herodotus, Strabo, Athenaeus, Eusebius, Hermesianax, Ovid, Suidas, Aelian, Seneca, Cicero, Servius, Philostratus, Horace, Plato, the Palatine Anthology, Porphyrio on Horace, Aulus Gellius, Lucian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demetrius, etc. Many of these passages tell us next to nothing about Sappho. For example, what is to be learned of her life from Catullus 35.16. . .Sapphica puella musa doctior?, or from Horace, Carm. 4.9.11. . . spirat adhuc amor vivuntque commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae? Such passages are of interest, and of some value, of course, as contributing to the sum total of the impression made by Sappho upon the ancient world, in her own day and later generations, but they give us no definite information concerning her life. Again, it is interesting to learn from Aulus Gellius 19.3 that, in his day and generation, the second century A. D., some musicians at Athens gave delightful renderings not only of a number of the songs of Anacreon and Sappho, but also of some charming erotic elegies: but the passage throws no light on Sappho's life. Still we may be grateful for these passages, even though Mr. Edmonds's caption covering them is to some extent wrong.

A detailed discussion of the text of Sappho's fragments, and of those of the other authors included in this volume, would be entirely beyond the purposes of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. One may be certain that Mr. Edmonds's text is not likely to go unchallenged, even though scholars have recognized in his articles, and will recognize in this volume, the pains which he has devoted to his work. In The Classical Review 36(1922), 120–121, an English reviewer, Mr. E. Lobel, sharply criticizes this volume, as showing, in particular, a lack of "caution, and commonsense, and a critical, especially a self-critical habit". Mr. Lobel sees little, if any, novelty in Mr. Edmonds's vaunted palaeographical method, and hints, besides, that Mr. Edmonds is not loyal to it. To this Mr. Edmonds rejoins caustically in The Classical Review 36.159–161.

It should be noted that Mr. Edmonds's translations are all in prose.

Every one is aware that Quintilian 8.6.44 uses Horace Carmina 1.14—the famous Ode beginning O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus!—as an illustration of an allegory and that scholars long ago brought the Ode into direct connection with a famous fragment of Alcaeus. See, for instance, the Intro-

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ductory note to this Ode of Horace, in the edition of the Odes and Epodes of Horace, by Professor Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University (pages 100–101), for the text of Quintilian, and part of the text of Alcaeus.

Now, what is preserved of Alcaeus's poem is to be found in Heraclitus, Homeric Allegories 37–39. On page 344 of his book, Mr. Edmonds gives the whole context within which the fragment is imbedded. To show his method, and to give some hint of his translation, I quote in full, from page 345, his rendering (it is to be noted that his translation of the context, here as elsewhere throughout the volume, is given in smaller type: I put the rendering of the Alcaeus fragment in double quotation-marks):

Heraclitus *Homeric Allegories:* We shall find the lyric poet of Mytilene using allegory in a considerable number of passages. He likens the disturbances caused by the tyrants very literally to stormy weather at sea:

"I cannot tell the lie of the wind; one wave rolls from this quarter, another from that, and we are carried in the midst with the black ship, labouring in an exceeding great storm. The water is up to the mast-hole, the sail lets daylight through with the great rents that are in it, and the halyards are working loose".

Who hearing this would not conclude immediately from the moving sea-imagery that the fear conveyed by the words is fear of the sea on the part of men aboard ship? Yet it is not so, for the poet means Myrsilus and a monarchical conspiracy hatching against the Mytileneans. And he similarly hints at Myrsilus' intrigues in another place:

"Lo now! the wave that is to windward of us comes this way, and will give us sore labour to bale it out when it breaks over us".

In fact the islander almost overdoes the sea-going in his allegories, likening most of the prevailing tyrant-troubles to storms on the ocean.

For purposes of comparison, I add the rendering of Alcaeus given by Professor Moore:

I do not understand the winds' strife, for the wave rolls, now from this side, now from that, and we with our black ship are carried in the midst, struggling hard with the mighty storm. For the flood surrounds the mast step, the canvass is utterly destroyed, great rents are in it; and the yard-ropes are loosened.

It remains to add that there are a good many textual notes, and many other notes, some giving alternative renderings, some giving references to passages in Greek and Latin authors which throw light upon the fragments.

(2) Philostratus and Eunapius: The Lives of the Sophists, by Mrs. Wilmer Cave Wright, Professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr College. Professor Wright is author of a very excellent book, A Short History of Greek Literature, and has contributed to the Loeb Classical Library volumes 1 and 2 of the three-volume translation of Julian.

The present volume contains an Introduction (ix-xli); Bibliography (xlii-xliii); Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists, text and translations (2–315); Eunapius, Introduction (319–339), Bibliography (340–341), Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists, text and translations (342–565); Glossary of <Greek> Rhetorical terms (567–575); Index to Philostratus (576–587); Index to Eunapius (588–596).

In the Introduction to Philostratus, Mrs. Wright gives some account of Philostratus's life and of his works (ix-xv), and then discusses (xv-xxii) the influence of Sophistic in the educational, social, and political life of the Empire in the second and third Christian centuries. On pages xxii-xli Mrs. Wright puts together information about the various sophists named by Philostratus which supplements Philostratus "with dates and facts that he ignored", or corrects his errors. The list of these Sophists is worth while reciting here: Eudoxus of Cnidus, Leon of Byzantium, Dias, Carneades, Philostratus the Egyptian, Dio Chrysostom, Favorinus (mentioned so often by Aulus Gellius), Gorgias of Leontini, Protagoras of Abdera in Thrace, Hippias of Elis, Prodicus of Ceos, Polus of Sicily, Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, Antiphon of the Attic deme Rhamnus, Critias, "the Handsome", Isocrates, Aeschines, Nicetes, Isaeus (mentioned by Pliny and by Juvenal), Scopelian, Dionysius of Miletus, Lollianus of Ephesus, Polemo of Laodicea, Herodes Atticus, Aristocles, pupil of Herodes Atticus, Alexander the Cilician, Hermogenes of Tarsus, Aelius Aristeides, Adrian, Julius Pollux of Naucratis, Pausanias, Antipater the Syrian, and Claudius Aelian.

The Introduction to Eunapius is constructed on the same model as that of the Introduction to Philostratus. Among the philosophers of whom Eunapius writes are Plotinus of Lycopolis in Egypt, Porphyry, called "the Tyrian", Iamblichus, Aedesius, Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus the Thesprotian or Molossian, Julian of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Prohaeresius, the Christian Sophist, Epiphanius of Syria, Diophantus the Arab, Sopolis, Himerius, Libanius of Antioch, Acacius of Caesarea, Zeno of Cyprus, Magnus, Oribasius, Chrysanthius, and Hellespontius.

(*To be concluded*)

C. K.

SOME TRACES OF ROMAN OCCUPATION IN THE RHINE CITIES

The interest which the Rhineland has for the student of Roman archaeology was forcibly presented to me in a short trip which I made through that region last summer. I was, of course, familiar with the principal facts in the history of the Roman occupation of Germany, but did not realize the extent of the archaeological material which remains there.

After visiting the great galleries of Munich, Dresden, and Berlin, I reached the Rhine at Cologne. The city not only keeps its Roman name (Colonia Agrippinensis), but the form of the Roman settlement is also preserved by the four nearly straight streets which bound a rectangular section in its center. The short axis of this oblong is parallel to the Rhine. Near the Cathedral, at the northeast corner of the ancient wall, one of the gates remained, partly built into houses, until it was taken down in 1826, when the street was widened. Traces of other gates and towers have

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also been found during various building operations. One tower still stands to a height of twenty-five feet above the present ground level at the northwest angle of the wall. It is built of brick-faced concrete. The surface is varied by bands of arches and circles formed of diamond-shaped blocks of stone, more elongated in section than those used in ordinary *opus reticulatum*. The top of the tower is crenellated. The Wallraff-Richartz Museum, which is being reorganized, contains a collection of Roman objects found in the neighborhood. There are remains of mosaic pavements, architectural fragments, sculptures, inscriptions, and some rather fine smaller objects in glass and metal. The collection points to the existence of a prosperous community.

At Bonn (Bonna) there are no extant remains of Roman occupation. A statue of Julius Caesar at the head of the bridge across the Rhine shows that the city is proud of its Roman origin. Caesar's bridge was, however, farther south, in the neighborhood of Coblentz. The Bonn Museum is very well ordered. The smaller objects, dating from prehistoric times (among these is the Neanderthal skull) to the Frankish period, are arranged chronologically, in eight rooms. The collection contains some elegant glass bowls, and vases, and specimens of Roman silver. Sarcophagi, with burials of the Frankish period, show how the heavy jewelry of that time was worn. On a lower floor is housed a group of models representing Roman and earlier Gallic buildings, found or still existing in the Rhine district, and an extensive collection of Roman funeral *stelae*. Some of these are the monuments of women and children, but by far the greater number were erected to the soldiers and the centurions of the legions. The majority of the stones are rather large, so that the deceased is represented by figures in relief almost three-quarters of life size. The figures, standing in a flat niche, above or below which the inscription is carved, are dressed in full uniform. Some stones preserve traces of color. The background was generally dark blue, while scarlet was used freely in the soldier's dress. Occasionally a stele is dedicated to two, father and son together, or to two comrades. Later, in the Cathedral at Mainz, where the monuments of the bishops, placed against the pillars which divide nave from aisles, show the dignitaries standing in full ecclesiastical costume, the whole brilliantly colored, I thought of the monuments of the Roman soldiers at Bonn, and wondered whether these were the source of the later fashion.

From Bonn I went to Coblentz (the Roman Confluentes, of which there are no visible traces). It is interesting to stand at the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine, and look north, for in that neighborhood was Caesar's bridge, the first path of the Romans into ancient Germany.

To Trèves (Augusta Treverorum) from Coblentz, along the Moselle valley, was a four-hour trip on the main railroad, which does not follow the winding course of the river its entire length, but cuts off part of the distance through tunnels. At times the train is near enough to the stream to show the clearness of the green depths which Ausonius praised. Fishermen still ply the transparent waters, but the great river traffic of the fourth century has given way before the more expeditious railroad. A small steamer makes the trip in summer. The hills that form the river banks are covered with vineyards to the very summit, and the castles which crown them here and there are probably the successors of Roman villas.

Trèves, the third century capital of Gaul, has, I believe, the most extensive Roman remains of any city in Germany. These serve to show how magnificent a provincial city might be even in the period of Rome's decline. The monumental Porta Nigra, dating from the first half of the third century, is familiar to all. It appeared even more imposing to me than it had seemed in pictures. In the eleventh century the two stories of the left tower were converted into a double Church, the apse of which still remains adjoining the original construction, though all other additions have been removed. Through this gate the Via Decumana passed to the Forum, which occupied the site of the modern marketplace. Nearby is the Cathedral, the oldest Church in Germany, dating from the fourth century. The arched doorway and the adjoining walls are of Roman construction, in squared blocks of local stone. In the northeastern part of the city is a structure known as the basilica. Whatever its original purpose was, the building was used as a palace in the Frankish period, and was converted into a Church in the last century. It is built of brick-faced concrete. The long side is pierced by a double row of nine arched windows. The short side, opposite the entrance, terminates in an apse, so that in general form this building is similar to the contemporary Basilica of Constantine in the Forum at Rome. The basilica at Trèves had originally a hollow tile floor to allow for heating.

Not far from the basilica are ruins popularly called the Palace of Constantine. They are in reality the remains of a Roman bath. Half of the wall of one circular room is standing, to the height of two stories, but crumbling, so that the visitor is warned to be on his guard against falling stones. The walls are faced with mixed brick and stone, variously arranged in different parts of the building. Excavations are now in progress to lay bare the foundations of the entire structure, which covered a comparatively large area. Beyond the city walls, at the southeast, stood an ancient amphitheater built of small stone blocks. The entire circuit of the wall is preserved to varying heights. Subterranean corridors under the arena are accessible. A second Roman bath, of which the lower courses of the walls only remain, was situated in the southwestern part of the city, near the Moselle, at the point where the Roman bridge crossed the stream. The foundations of the modern bridge, as well as the central arch, are said to be of Roman construction. The provincial museum of Trèves is in process of rearrangement. It contains some interesting fragments of Roman mosaic pavement. Among the sculptures are the relief of a Moselle boat

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laden with wine casks, and the so-called 'Igeler Säule'. This is the funeral monument of a family of Secundini, as the inscription tells, and dates from the second century. It was found at the village of Igel, near Trèves, where it stood until recently. The monument is seventy feet high, and is formed of a succession of rectangular plinths crowned by a pyramid, which probably served as the base for a statue.

Returning to Coblentz from Trèves, I took the Rhine steamer to Mainz (Magontiacum). The only Roman monument in situ in this city is a huge cylindrical concrete core, fifty feet high (originally higher), which stands at the upper level of the citadel. This fort is now held by the French troops of the army of occupation. The Roman monument is identified as that erected by the legionaries to the elder Drusus, who died in this region in 9 B. C. Mainz was also the scene of the murder of Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mammea, in 235 A. D.

The Roman-Germanic Central Museum at Mainz has a collection of the antiquities of the region. There are numerous prehistoric weapons and implements, and interesting reconstructions of the various types of prehistoric dwellings. Among the Roman weapons are several specimens of metal helmets. Examples of Arretine ware occur in the pottery collection; they show the popularity and diffusion of this style. Fragments of window glass which have been found in the remains of Roman buildings in the locality are also shown. Another case contains a number of Roman shoes, varying, in elaborateness, from the simple sole fastened with leather thongs, to high, laced boots adorned with intricate patterns cut in the leather. The gilt bronze foot and thunderbolt of a statue of Jupiter are kept in the museum. These fragments, together with the column on which the statue stood, were found at Mainz in 1904–1905. The column, dating from the time of Nero, stood thirty feet high. It is composed of two rectangular plinths, surmounted by a shaft of five drums, crowned by a Corinthian capital which supports the base of the statue. Jupiter is represented on one side of the lower plinth, and Minerva and Fortuna on the opposite side. Each of the drums is adorned with the figures of four divinities. These sections, together with the other Roman and medieval sculptures, are now kept temporarily in a building in the court of the Museum. The large model of a Roman bridge, which was formerly displayed, has been destroyed, but many of the blackened timbers with the iron nails which fastened them to form the ancient bridge have been recovered from the river and are shown in the courtyard. Another section of the Museum consists of casts and models of material from other sites; these afford a good opportunity for comparison.

Weisbaden is only a short journey from Mainz across the Rhine valley, into the foothills of the Taunus range. Here was situated a Roman resort known as Aquae Mattiacorum. Part of one of the gates of the ancient wall is visible, and remains of Roman bathing establishments have been found near several of the springs. The Weisbaden Museum is housed in a new building, and, like most of the German collections, is very well organized. It is especially rich in models showing the different types of Roman fortifications which have been found at various points along the *limes*. It has also life-sized models of Roman and Frankish warriors in full armor. The original objects include extensive prehistoric remains—a large number of stelae of the legionaries, and, among other finds, the contents of an ancient potter's shop as it was when abandoned at the time of the barbarian invasions. A mithraeum discovered at Heddernheim, the ancient Nida, a suburb of Frankfort, has been reconstructed in a separate room.

Nida, on a tributary of the Main, a little to the north of Frankfort, was the Roman city of importance rather than the site of modern Frankfort. Remains of fortifications have been found here. The electric trolley from Frankfort to Bad Homburg passes this town as it ascends into the Taunus region. A ride of an hour beyond Bad Homburg brings us to the ancient Roman border. Here, excavations, begun in 1871, revealed the remains of a Roman camp[1], which has been reconstructed on the original foundations. The region is thickly wooded, and one catches glimpses of the crenellated battlements of the camp from the road which follows the line of the ancient highway. Before the camp, at one side, were found a shrine of Mithras, and a spring which flowed again when it was cleared of rubbish during the excavations. Everything is labelled with bilingual inscriptions in pompous Latin and German. Just before the camp, on either side of the road, there are foundations of houses identified as shops and the other accessories of the settlement.

The wall of the camp is surrounded by a double ditch. We enter by the decuman gate, a double arch, before which there has been placed a modern bronze statue of the Emperor Hadrian, in whose reign the camp was enlarged to its present area. Inside of the wall an earthern agger rises to within about nine feet of the top. Just beyond the gate, at the left, is a small *quaestorium*. At the right are the *horrea*, now used as a museum to house the objects found on the site. In the center of the camp rises the *praetorium*. This structure contains a huge drillroom extending across its entire width. Behind this is the two-story atrium, from the rear of which opens a small sacellum. In the atrium are kept the altars and the stelae found in the neighborhood. Statues of Hadrian and the Severi have been placed in the sacellum.

The entire camp occupies an area equal to about six square city blocks. Several wells, a bath, and a bake-shop with mills were enclosed within the walls. In spite of the absence of the temporary huts of the soldiers, it is easy to picture the life of the camp on the edge of the forest. The little museum contains examples of the weapons and the tools of the soldiers. The latter remind the visitor that the Roman legionary was a builder as well as a fighter. There are also household utensils, children's toys, wearing apparel, *areolae*, and votive statuettes.

[1]Miss Franklin has in mind the camp at Saalburg. For this see the CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2.100-102, 247, 9.102. C. K.

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On the hill, a little below the camp, a copy of the column to Jupiter, now in the museum at Mainz, with the statue crowning it restored, has been set up and gives an idea of how impressive such a monument was.

Any one of the larger museums in the German cities would be well worth visiting several times. The number of reproductions of the more important objects in each town which are displayed in the larger collections affords an excellent opportunity for close comparison, and the numerous accurate reconstructions help to visualize the life of the Roman camps.

ROME, NOVEMBER, 1922 ERNESTINE P. FRANKLIN

REVIEWS

A History of Rome to 565 A. D. By A. E. R. Boak. New York: The Macmillan Company (1921). Pp. xvi + 444.

This is an outline of Roman history from prehistoric times to the death of Justinian, with a two-page epilogue bringing the narrative to the Mohammedan invasions. Its 400 pages of text, equally apportioned to the Republic and the Empire, are subdivided into four sections: The Forerunners of Rome in Italy (3–21); The Early Monarchy and the Republic: From Prehistoric Times to 27 B. C. (25–201): The Principate or Early Empire: 27 B. C.-285 A. D. (205–313); and The Autocracy or Late Empire: 285-565 A. D. (317–402). The work also contains a Chronological Table (405–413), a Bibliographical Note, including books which represent "the prevailing views of modern scholarship upon the various phases of Roman History" (415–421), and an excellent Index (423-444). There are nine maps, but no other illustrative matter.

The purely scientific character of the book is at once shown by the omission of the early Roman legends. Romulus, whose story constitutes the best known ancient myth, the Kings, the early Latin heroes, the Mons Sacer, are not mentioned. Even the historic Regulus appears under the unfamiliar name Atilius (73). True, we have outlived credence in the early story of Rome, but the constant allusions to it in English literature certainly warrant a passing notice in any general history of Rome. If for no other reason, the traditional account might be briefly outlined to show what the later Romans themselves thought of their early history—even if we cannot follow Ferrero in regarding Varro's date for the founding of the city (753 B. C.) as historical.

In two essentials the work of Professor Boak differs from the Hellenic History of the late Professor Botsford (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.124–126). A comparison of these two recent histories by American scholars of note will occur to every teacher of ancient history. While Botsford's work is a symmetrical story of the Greeks, from the viewpoints of politics, economics, society, literature, art, religion, thought, and character—including, in fact, everything which makes up our debt to that many-sided people—, Professor Boak's account is largely political, economic, and military, with little emphasis on the culture of the Romans. While Botsford devotes one-half of his space to Greek culture, Professor Boak devotes only four out of his twenty-one chapters, or forty-seven pages, to this phase of Rome's greatness, and only four more, or seventy-seven pages, to the constitutional and administrative development of the State. Nor does Professor Boak attempt to give at the bottom of the page the source-material, a feature which enhances the worth of Botsford's book to teacher and advanced student. Nor has the Roman History the charm of the other, and this is not entirely nor even largely due to the more prosaic and practical character of the Romans. In fact, while authoritative and sound throughout, Dr. Boak's work must be adjudged as dry and matter-of-fact; it scarcely ever reaches the romantic and interest-compelling plane of the Hellenic History. This is especially noticeable in the account of Hannibal, whose history is the most soul-stirring episode in Roman history, as told in the pages of Livy, or in that of the tremendous rebel Sertorius, whose life by Plutarch marks the zenith of ancient biography. But, after all, Professor Boak's account is only an outline, and is too succinct for detailed treatment. It is far too condensed to serve as a text-book for a year's work in Roman history in University or College; but it will be found to be an excellent compendium for classes which devote a term or less to the story of Rome.

The work is remarkably free from typographical errors.

Few of Professor Boak's historical judgments can raise adverse criticism; at most they can give rise to a difference of opinion.

To cite a few of these conclusions, let us begin with the question whether Rome was a Latin or an Etruscan colony. Professor Boak (27) is conservative in saying that Rome resulted from a fusion of several racial elements—Latin, Sabine, Etruscan, Pre-Italian, but mostly Latin—, the organization into four Regions being due to Etruscan conquerors. And yet the evidence points almost conclusively to Etruscan origin. Thus the names of Rome, of the earliest three tribes, and of all the Kings are Etruscan; the early town was built on an Etruscan model; its primitive art and religion were Etruscan; the early Romans studied Etruscan, just as the later studied Greek (Livy 9.36); and early Rome was hostile to the Latins and destroyed Alba. Moreover, down to the time of the Republic, Rome was a center of industry and commerce, while the Latins were still agriculturalists. Thus, the hypothesis that Rome was an Etruscan town—a belief which, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus says (1.29.2), was widely held in antiquity—is well-founded and is followed by many scholars, e. g. Schulze, K. O. Müller, Soltau, Gardthausen, and Grenier.

Professor Boak says of the commercial treaty with Carthage, which is attested by Polybius (3.22) as made in the first year after the expulsion of the Kings, merely that it "perhaps" dates "from the close of the sixth century" (71–72). And yet this is the earliest certain document in Roman history, even if its his-

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toricity has been doubted by some scholars (e. g. E. Täubler, Imperium Romanum, 1.1913).

The explanation of the origin of the *tribuni militum consulari potestate* (50–51, 55, and n. 1), as the result of the military situation which frequently demanded the presence in the State of more than two magistrates who could exercise the *imperium*, is probably right, though not generally accepted. The usual explanation, also offered in antiquity, is that the tribunate was created to replace the consulship as an office open to plebeians, who were excluded from the latter, i. e. as a kind of weakened consulship conceded by the patricians to the plebeians. As a matter of fact, as Professor Boak points out, the tribunate appeared in 436 B. C., but it was not until 396 B. C., that a plebeian was elected to it. He might have added that the admission of plebeians probably arose from the vicissitudes of the war with Veii (402–391 B. C.), which forced the patricians to accept as magistrates the ablest men available, even if they were plebeians.

Curiously, Professor Boak does not mention the Licinian-Sextian Rogations, passed in 367 B. C., which helped largely to end the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians. To be sure, one of these, the agrarian law, ordaining that no patrician should possess over 500 *iugera* of the *ager publicus*, and that all land held in excess of that amount should be distributed (Livy 7.16.9), has been referred to a later century by many scholars, and wholly denied by others, e. g. by Niese (Hermes 23 [1888], 416). But the other two clauses, relating to debt and plebeian admission to the consulship respectively, are generally regarded as historical.

The first Samnite War (343–341 B. C.) is also omitted; only two of the three wars (325–304, 298–290 B. C.) are discussed. And yet this first war, however fabulous some of its events, is attested by three ancient writers, Dionysius (15.3.2), Appian (Roman History 3.1), and Livy (7.29-37), and it is difficult to see how tradition could have manufactured an entire war. For the difficult questions involved in this obscure war see J. Beloch, Campanien², 299–300 (1890).

The tradition repeated in most text-books that the Romans knew so little about ships during the First Punic War that they had to model their fleet after a Carthaginian quinquereme, which had been wrecked on the south Italian coast, is rightly omitted. Rome had long been familiar with warships and merchantmen by this time (circ. 260 B. C.), and, besides, could use the fleets of both her Italian and her Syracusan allies. The only truth in the pretty legend seems to be that, before this time, neither Romans nor Italians understood the use of boats with five banks of oars.

Professor Boak gives the usual explanation of the cause of the Second Punic War (78–79) as Carthaginian expansion in Spain under Hasdrubal, which aroused Massilia and her colonies, whose commercial interests were thereby endangered[1]. Hence Rome was invited to intervene. Thus are explained the treaty between Hasdrubal and Rome in 226 B. C. (that Carthage should not advance in arms north of the Ebro; Polybius 2.13.7, 3.27.9) and Rome's alliance with Saguntum, and Hannibal's resolve to attack. However, even if Saguntum was the occasion, the true cause may well have been the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. This explains the whole strategic plan of Hannibal's descent into the valley of the Po from the North (see Ferrero, Short History of Rome, 1.160–162). The figures for the Roman side at Cannae are very conservative (82): "Of 50,000 Romans and allies, about 25,000 were slain and 10,000 captured by the numerically inferior Carthaginians". Livy (22.49) gives 48,000 as slain and 3,300 as taken prisoners. Polybius (3.117) gives 70,000 infantry as slain out of 73,000 engaged, and 10,000 more as captured, and asserts that of 6,000 cavalry only 370 escaped.

The tradition given by Sallust that the Roman ambassadors headed by Calpurnius were corrupted by Jugurtha's gold in 113 B. C. into making a disgraceful peace is repeated (133). However, the story may be legendary and the consul's peace may have been due to his desire to avoid a war with a man whose only ambition was to get possession of Masinissa's kingdom, an ambition of little moment to Rome.

Mention is made (144) of the secret agreement between Sulla and the consul Valerius Flaccus, who had been sent to replace Sulla in the conduct of the First Mithridatic War. This alone can explain the military history of this war (compare Bernhardt, Chronologie der Mithridatischen Kriege, 1896). After his victory at Chaeronea in 86 B. C. Sulla had no idea of yielding to Flaccus, and the latter feared to force the issue. Consequently each agreed to pursue a separate command.

The writing of the story of the Empire offers many more difficulties than that of the Republic. In fact, it has never been fully done. Even Mommsen contented himself with a survey of the culture of the provinces, and his successors in Germany—Schiller, Kornemann, von Domaszewski, and the rest—have done little beyond reducing to system the enormous mass of material from papyri, inscriptions, and coins. Only definite periods have been satisfactorily treated, as the inception of the principate, 78 B. C. to 14 A. D., by Ferrero (The Greatness and Decline of Rome, 1–5 [1907–1909]), the first two centuries of the Empire (27 B. C.-180 A. D.), by Professor Bury, A History of the Roman Empire (1893), and the last two centuries of the Empire (305–476 A. D.), by Seeck (Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt², 1–6 [1897–1920], etc. Considering the difficulty of the subject and the fact that only two hundred pages were available for the task, Dr. Boak has written a remarkably lucid and comprehensive account. If any criticism were to be made, it would be, perhaps, that he has allotted too much space to the personalities of the Emperors, who, with a few notable exceptions, had little influence on the Roman world at large.

Mommsen's well-known idea of an administrative "dyarchy", or joint rule of two independent authorities

[1] On this matter see Professor Tenney Frank, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.69-71. C. K.

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on the basis of the division in 27 B. C. of the provinces between Augustus and the Senate, is accepted (216), although we read, a little further on (225): "Opinions have differed and probably always will differ upon the question whether or not Augustus sought to establish a disguised form of monarchical government". That he founded a monarchy veiled under the old Republican forms has certainly been the prevailing view among modern historians of Rome; but it would have been well to state that quite a different interpretation of Augustus's constitution has been offered in recent years. This new theory was adumbrated first by Fustel de Coulange (La Gaule Romaine, 147 f. [1901]), and has been worked out at length by E. Meyer (Kleine Schriften, 443–492 [1910]), and at great length by Ferrero in The Greatness and Decline of Rome, volumes 4 and 5, especially 4.121–142, 5.348–351. It is based, of course, on Augustus's definition of his own work found in the Monumentum Ancyranum (Chapter 34), in a passage which is, perhaps, the most important in that famous document.

The sinister legend handed down by Suetonius and Tacitus about the character of Tiberius, now rightly judged by historians, is, of course, disregarded by Professor Boak, who correctly says (229) that it has obscured the Emperor's real services as a "conscientious and economical administrator". Duruy, in his Latin dissertation (1853), exploded the account of this myth (compare Duruy, History of Rome and of the Roman People, edited by Mahaffy [1890], 4.401–402, 482–483, 483, note). The authority to follow for the character of the Emperor is his contemporary, Velleius Paterculus. The vein of madness in Caligula (230) is hardly necessary to assume when we reflect that his every act was in harmony with the idea of absolutism and little was due to insanity. The Quinquennium Neronis (232–233) should doubtless be regarded as a cloak for the real intentions of the Emperor, who disliked affairs of government, and gave them over largely to the Senate, desiring to appear and to become a great artist. Professor Boak rightly denies Nero's supposed guilt in the burning of Rome in 64 A. D.

One feature we largely miss in Professor Boak's work, a feature so prominent in Professor Botsford's Hellenic History—the series of character-sketches and estimates. There is none, for example, of Hannibal. Of Sulla he merely says that he had "little imagination or constructive ability" (150). Julius Caesar's greatness is very inadequately treated (183–184). Of Augustus we learn merely that his "statemanship <was> of a high order" (225). Antony's cardinal weaknesses are epigrammatically said to be "indolence and sensual indulgence" (190). His relationship to Cleopatra and its effect on the battle of Actium and political events thereafter is well appraised. The fundamental differences in the characters of Diocletian and Constantine might have been brought out. While the former was a powerful and coherent administrator who remained true to the ancient tradition—the "last great man of the ancient world", in the words of Ferrero (Short History, 2.428)—, Constantine, despite great abilities, was ever vacillating in his policy, and deserved the title of "the Great" only at the hands of the Christians, and we are still in doubt how much of a Christian he was.

Professor Boak's literary judgments are frequently inadequate. That Vergil's Aeneid has "placed him with Homer in the front rank of epic poets for all time" (299) is certainly an exaggeration. Catullus is not only "the best exponent of the poetry of the age" (199), but one of the three or four greatest lyricists of all time. Nor is Lucretius, one of the most remarkable geniuses, sufficiently praised (199). Cicero gets somewhat more than his due as a thinker, and Caesar somewhat less as a writer (200). That the fourth century A. D. culturally—if not spiritually—belongs to the Middle Ages (304) may be readily granted.

Unfortunately, the account of Christianity is relegated to a point (309–313) where the political story of Rome has passed beyond Diocletian. In fact, Christianity is not mentioned in the account of the first three centuries except once—the brief notice of Nero's persecution (233).

There is little to be said for continuing the story of imperial Rome to the death of Justinian. A far better date is a century and a half earlier, the time of the division of the Empire into East and West at the death of Theodosius (395 A. D.). In any case, the fortunes of the Western Empire should not be carried beyond 476 A. D., the date of the German occupation of Rome. Beyond that is the story of the Eastern Empire—a story all its own.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

Rome and the World Today. A Study, in Comparison with Present Conditions, of the Reorganization of Civilization under the Roman Empire which Brought to a War-worn World Two Hundred years of Peace. By Herbert S. Hadley. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons (1922). Pp. xvi+362.

The author of this book is a lawyer (Professor of Law, University of Colorado; Former Attorney General and Governor of the State of Missouri). His interests naturally lie almost entirely in the fields of government and law. Furthermore, the book is "frankly a derivative work" (ix), in which little use of original sources is made. It cannot therefore fairly be criticized from the point of view of strict historical or classical scholarship. Neither can it be regarded as purely an attempt to draw certain practical lessons for present-day America from the history of Rome; its secondary purpose which at times seems to overshadow the one indicated in its title, is to demonstrate that Augustus Caesar was the greatest statesman in the history of the world.

The opening chapter, Have We Anything to Learn from History? (3–21), is chiefly devoted to pointing out similarities between the Roman civilization and our own, and particularly between the present post-bellum period in America and the Augustan Age of

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Rome. The somewhat narrow view taken in this comparison is illustrated by this statement (10): "The chief points of distinction between the civilization and culture of that day and this arise from the use of gasoline and steam engines and electrical power". Yet, the presentation of the similarities in the life of the two ages and nations is impressive. The closing words of the chapter summarize forcefully the chief practical message of the book (20–21): "That Rome, after two hundred years of conquest and aggression, followed by a policy of colonial plunder and oppression; after one hundred years of civil war and strife, followed by bloody proscriptions and a disorganization of industry, commerce, morals, government, and religion, could change her natural purposes and ideals in the lifetime of one generation, and enter upon a mission of civilization and justice that brought peace and prosperity to the western world for two hundred years, constitutes Rome's great message of hopefulness to the twentieth century . . . . If such a work could have been accomplished then, can the world prove unequal to this problem today"?

Chapter II, A Century of War (22–62), and Chapter III, The Coming of Peace (63–101), summarize Roman history up to 29 B. C., with emphasis on the last century of the Republic. The destructive character of the wars, both foreign and civil, and the general disorganization of government and normal life are considerably overemphasized; Rome's contributions to civilization and political science up to the end of the Republic, and the achievements of her leaders, particularly those of Julius Caesar, are correspondingly minimized; and the story of Octavius's rise to power is related in favorable contrast.

Chapters IV–VIII (102–299) are devoted to the principate of Augustus. He is defended against the charge of hypocrisy, and his many achievements are recounted at length. The complete sincerity of his eagerness to revive religion is maintained; the extent and the duration of his power and the enduring success of the form of government instituted by him are emphasized.

Perhaps the most valuable of these interesting chapters is that which summarizes the history of Roman law (VII. Rome's Greatest Gift to the World [213-259]). Here the enormous importance of the reforms instituted by Augustus, particularly in the law of procedure, is clearly shown.

The last chapter (IX. How Socialism Helped to Destroy the Roman Empire [300–342]) is chiefly devoted to what must in general be considered a very sane and sensible consideration of Rome's decline and fall. Among the many suggested causes for the fall of Rome, Professor Hadley is inclined to emphasize the great plague of the age of the Antonines, and the effort to establish morality, a caste system, stable prices, and indeed uniformity in almost every department of life, by means of legislation. But he recognizes the uncertainty of all the theories on the subject in these words of wisdom (339): "After all our explanations, after giving due consideration to all the causes of disintegration and decline, there is something of mystery that baffles comprehension when the spirit, determination and capacity for achievement that has characterized a great people vanish from their lives".

The book is clearly and attractively printed, but is marred by many errors in spelling, especially in Latin words. Inaccuracies in matters of fact are also not rare. A flagrant example is the description of the government of imperial provinces under Augustus (133, and n. 1.), which is completely confused and misleading. And the treatment of slavery under Augustus (163–165) contains some surprising distortions of fact. The statement that "The average period during which one remained a slave was about six years . . . " (164–165) is surely a very exaggerated conclusion to draw from Cicero, Phil. 8.32, if that is its source. And what is the basis for the conclusion (165) that the evils of slavery "reached their climax under the Republic and declined under the early Empire"?. Not a word is said of Augustus's severe limitations on the manumission of slaves!

Professor Hadley's interest in literature and art is not great, and his opinion of their relative importance is made clear by this sentence (258–259): "When it could be truly said that a system of law had been established before which all men were equal, . . . then there came into the world . . . something of greater value than all the literary, artistic, philosophic, and scientific achievements of prior civilizations". It seems unfortunate, then, that he made any attempt to discuss the Augustan literature. The book is greatly marred by such remarks as these (299–302): " . . . . The *Aeneid*. . . puts aside the humble beginning as told in the story of Romulus and Remus . . . and names the great Aeneas, son of Venus as the founder through his son, Julius, of Rome and the Julian line. It tells the story of the struggles and achievements of the Roman people and their great leaders and of the glory and happiness they had finally won under the leadership of Augustus . . . . There is more imagination and idealism in Virgil than in Homer . . . ". Compare also this (196): " . . . nobly did he <Horace> respond with the *Carmen Saeculare*, which is the greatest work of this great poet and worthy of the occasion".

It has already been made clear that Professor Hadley is a special pleader for the greatness of Augustus as a statesman. Such exaggeration of his achievements as is found in this book may, however, be necessary if Augustus is ever to gain anything like the fame he surely deserves. The fact (63) that "Gibbon, writing in the republican enthusiasm at the close of the eighteenth century, regarded him as too much of an imperialist, and Mommsen, writing in the imperialistic enthusiasm of nineteenth century Germany, regarded him as too much of a republican" is doubtless a partial explanation of his failure to receive proper credit for his remarkable achievements. Yet a broader reason may lie in human nature. Rulers in times of peace and plenty rarely if ever become great popular heroes; their life-histories do not appeal to the imagination as do those of great military leaders and War-Presidents, particularly if they have suffered violent deaths. Julius Caesar may owe a considerable part of his fame to Shakespeare; yet a playwright's reason for choosing Julius rather than Augustus as the central figure of a drama is obvious to everyone.

But, though Professor Hadley's work may not succeed in adding greatly to the popular reputation of Augustus, it is an extremely interesting description of his time as compared with our own, and will undoubtedly be very useful.

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161 West 13th Street, New York City.

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY is published by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, weekly, on Mondays from October 1 to May 31 inclusive, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, at Barnard College, Broadway and 120th St., New York City.

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Single copies, 10 cents. Extra numbers, 10 cents each. Back volumes, 1-15, $2.00 each.

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Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N.Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, No. 25 MONDAY, MAY 7, 1923 WHOLE No. 448

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, No. 25 MONDAY, MAY 7, 1923 WHOLE No. 448

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

(*Concluded from page 186*)

(3) The Scriptores Historiae Augustae, by David Magie, of Princeton University. This is the first of three volumes. The contents are as follows:

Preface (v-vii); Introduction (xi-xxxii), falling into two parts, I. The Scope and Literary Character of the Historia Augusta (xi-xxiv), II. The Tradition of the Historia Augusta (xxiv-xxxii); The Manuscripts (xxxiii-xxxvi); Editions and Translations (xxxvii); Text and Translation (2-493).

In his Preface (v) Professor Magie explains that the translation of certain biographies had been furnished to him by his friend Mr. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, and that the Latin text of the first six biographies was supplied by Miss Susan H. Ballou, of Bryn Mawr College, who had long been studying the manuscripts of these biographies and had planned to prepare a new text of them, but had been prevented by pressure of other work. He explains also (vi) that in his Introduction he has sought to give

. . .a brief account of the *Historia Augusta*. the authors, their method and style, and a summary of the study expended on it from the close of the classical period to the present and its use by later historians.

The biographies included within the volume are those of Hadrian (2-81) and Aelius (82-99), both by Aelius Spartianus; Antoninus Pius (100-131), Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (132-205), and Lucius Verus (206-231), all three by Julius Capitolinus; Avidius Cassius, by Vulcacius Gallicanus (232-263); Commodus Antoninus, by Aelius Lampridius (264-313); Helvidius Pertinax, by Capitolinus (314-347); Didius Julianus (348-369), Severus (370-429), and Pescennius Niger, by Spartianus (430-459); and Clodius Albinus, by Capitolinus (460-493).

(4) Volume 2 of the translation of Livy, by Professor B. O. Foster, of Stanford University, has appeared. This is the second of thirteen volumes, and gives a rendering of Books III and IV. For the first volume see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.169. There Professor Foster's rendering of Livy 1.29 (the account of the destruction of Alba Longa) was given as a good specimen of his style.

In the short Preface to this volume, Professor Foster notes that his text, as printed, is that of the latest revisions of the Weissenborn-Mueller edition of Livy, but that the spelling is that adopted by Professors Conway and Walters in their critical edition of Livy, in the Oxford Classical Text Series, of which two volumes, covering respectively Books I-V and VI-X, have appeared. To the latter edition Professor Foster also owes the numerous readings which differ from those of the Weissenborn-Mueller text, and the materials from which his textual notes have been drawn up. The volume contains an Index of the Proper Names mentioned within it (461-463), and a Map showing Latium and the surrounding country, with an inset map giving the "Regio proxima suburbana".

(5) One naturally mentions next the two volumes, out of six, of the translation of Polybius, by W. R. Paton. Mr. Paton died suddenly in 1921. Accordingly, the brief Introduction (vii-xvi), dealing with Polybius, His Life and His Work, is supplied by Colonel H. J. Edwards. The task of seeing the work through the press devolved upon the General Editors, Professor Capps, of Princeton University, and Messrs. T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse.

Volume I gives the translation of Books I and II of Polybius, and Volume II that of Books III and IV. Each volume contains, I am glad to see, its own Index of Proper Names. This is an innovation in the Series which is heartily to be commended.

Students of Livy, in particular, should welcome the opportunity to study, in such convenient form, with the aid of a readable translation, Polybius side by side with the Latin author.

(6) In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.198, mention was made of Volumes I-II of a translation of Herodotus, by Mr. A. D. Godley, Hon. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Volume III, containing the translation of Books V-VII, has now appeared. It contains, besides the Greek text and the English translation, an Introduction (vii-xviii), an Index of Proper Names (559-568), a Map of the Peloponnesus, and a map showing the Route of Xerxes.

Mr. Godley is a very ardent admirer of Herodotus. On pages xvii-xviii, he writes very entertainingly of Herodotus's style, of the "marvellous skill" with which Herodotus "heightens the dramatic appeal throughout by a constantly interwoven personal element". He maintains also that "modern research has not detracted from his *general* credibility. It is not too much to say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable". He concludes that

. . .any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, <must> incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of *a priori* probability.

(7) For the first time, a prose version, in English, of the Roman poet Claudian has been issued. This is by Mr. Maurice Platnauer, Sometime Honorary Scholar of New College, Oxford, and Assistant Master of Win-

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chester College. Mr. Platnauer's name is not altogether unfamiliar to the readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, since Professor Boak reviewed his volume, The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus (13. 79–80).

The contents of the two volumes are as follows:

Volume I. Introduction (vii-xxvi); Poems—Panegyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius (2–23); Against Rufinus (24–97); The War Against Gildo (98–137); Against Eutropius (138–229); Fescennine Verses in Honour of the Marriage of the Emperor Honorius (230–239); Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria (240–267); Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (268–285); Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (286–335); Panegryic on the Consulship of Fl. Manlius Theodorus (336–363); On Stilicho's Consulship, Book I (364–393).

Volume II. Poems—On Stilicho's Consulship, Books II-III (3–69); Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (71–123); The Gothic War (124–173); Shorter Poems (174–291); Rape of Proserpine (292–377); Index of Poems (379–381); Index of Proper Names (383–413).

Mr. Platnauer accepts almost in toto the text of Claudian published by Birt, in 1892. There is practically no trace of an apparatus criticus in his volumes. He differs, very seldom, from Birt, and only "because Birt's conservatism commits him . . . to untranslatable readings, in which cases my choice of a variant is arbitrary" (1. xxiii). His Bibliography (xxiv) can certainly lay no claim to exhaustiveness. Even I, who have no license to write on matters relating to Claudian, may add to it an article by Professor Clifford H. Moore, entitled The Heroic Past in the Poems of Claudian, The Classical Journal 6 (1910), 108–115. One sentence of the Bibliography seems rather carelessly constructed:

. . .Reference may also be made to Professor Bury's appendix to vol. iii of his edition of Gibbon (1897, under "Claudian") and to Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. xxx. *The Encomiums of Claudius Claudianus.*

It would have been better to refer to the second of these studies by its exact title, The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian, and to have named its author, Dr. Lester P. Struthers.

In his introduction, Mr. Platnauer gives first the historical background of the life of Claudian (vii-xi). He then puts together the little that is known about the life of the poet (xi-xvi), and seeks to arrive at a just estimate of Claudian as a writer (xvii-xix). The history of the text is then considered, and Birt's classification of the manuscripts is set forth in detail (xx-xxii).

As a specimen of Mr. Platnauer's style I give the text of the opening paragraph of the Fescennine Verses in Honour of the Marriage of Honorius, and Mr. Platnauer's version (1. 230–231):

Princeps corusco sidere pulchrior,
Parthis sagittas tendere doctior,
eques Gelonis imperiosior,
quae digna mentis laus erit arduae?
quae digna formae laus erit igneae?
te Leda mallet quam dare Castorem;
praefert Achilli te proprio Thetis;
victum fatetur Delos Apollinem;
credit minorem Lydia Liberum.
tu cum per altas impiger ilices
praedo citatum cornipedem reges
ludentque ventis instabiles comae,
telis iacebunt sponte tuis ferae
gaudensque sacris vulneribus leo
admittet hastam morte superbior.
Venus reversum spernit Adonidem;
damnat reductum Cynthia Virbium.

Prince, fairer than the day-star, who shootest thine arrows with an aim more sure than the Parthian's, rider more daring than the Geloni, what praise shall match thy lofty mind, what praise thy brilliant beauty? Leda would rather have thee her son than Castor; Thetis counts thee dearer than her own Achilles; Delos' isle admits thee Apollo's victor; Lydia puts Bacchus second to thee. When in the heat of the chase thou guidest thy coursing steed amid the towering holm-oaks and thy tossing locks stream out upon the wind, the beasts of their own accord will fall before thine arrows and the lion, right gladly wounded by a prince's sacred hand, will welcome thy spear and be proud so to die. Venus scorns Adonis returned from the dead, Diana disapproves Hippolytus recalled to life.

(8) Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University, has issued the first of two volumes of the translation of Aeschylus. This contains The Suppliant Maidens, The Persians, Prometheus Bound, The Seven Against Thebes (2–419), an Introduction (vii-xl), and an Index of Proper Names (421–426).

The Introduction, a solid piece of work, deals, first of all, with Athens of the days of Aeschylus, with Aeschylus's dramatic art, with his life and the sources of his dramas (vii-xxxi). The bibliographies of editions and translations (xxxi-xxxv), and of manuscripts (xxxv-xxxvii), are thoroughgoing.

Professor Smyth thus sets forth the principles on which he has constructed his text (xxxix-xl):

. . .The authority of the Medicean is not to be rejected except under the gravest compulsion; the readings of the later manuscripts, whether due to a tradition independent of the Medicean or to subsequent conjecture, are to be admitted only when the reading <s> of the Medicean are untenable; and recourse is to be had to modern conjectures only when the readings of all the manuscripts is <*sic*!> impossible or in the highest degree improbable.

Plainly, then, the text has the authority of a highly competent scholar, who has worked independently at the text. In this respect his volume ranks above many other volumes in the Library. The Critical Apparatus is fuller, I think, than that in any other volume of the Library. Its aim is to set forth (xl)

. . .(1) all departures of the printed text from the readings of the Medicean; (2) the discrepancies between the readings of the Medicean and those of the later manuscripts, regularly when the latter have been adopted, occasionally only when they deserve special attention; and (3) all cases when the readings of all the manuscripts have been deserted in favour of the emendations of scholars from the sixteenth century to the present day.

As a specimen of the translation, I quote the version of Prometheus 1–27:

POWER

To earth's remotest confines we are come, to the

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Scythian tract, an untrodden solitude. And now, Hephaestus, thine is the charge to observe the mandates laid upon thee by the Father—to clamp this miscreant upon the high-beetling crags in shackles of binding adamant that cannot be broken. For thine own pride, even flashing fire, source of all arts, he hath purloined and bestowed upon mortal creatures. Such is his offence; wherefore he is bound to make requital to the gods, that so he may be lessoned to brook the sovereignty of Zeus and forbear his championship of man.

HEPHAESTUS

Power and Force, for you indeed the behest of Zeus is now fulfilled, and naught remains to stay you. But for me—I cannot nerve myself to bind amain a kindred god upon this rocky cleft assailed by cruel winter. Yet, come what may, I am constrained to summon courage to this deed; for 'tis perilous to disregard the commandments of the Father.

Lofty-minded son of Themis who counselleth aright, against my will, no less than thine, I must rivet thee with brazen bonds no hand can loose to this desolate crag, where nor voice nor form of mortal man shall meet thy ken; but, scorched by the sun's bright beams, thou shalt lose the fair bloom of thy flesh. And glad shalt thou be when spangled-robed night shall veil his brightness and when the sun shall scatter again the rime of morn. Evermore the burthen of thy present ill shall wear thee out; for thy deliverer is not yet born.

(9) In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.188 mention was made of a volume of the Library, by Professor Carleton N. Brownson, containing Xenophon, Hellenica 6–7, and Anabasis 1–3. We have to mention now a volume containing Anabasis 4–7, translated by Professor Brownson, and the Symposium and Apology of Xenophon, by Professor O. J. Todd, of the University of British Columbia. The introductory matter supplied by Professor Todd is very brief (375–379).

C. K.

SAPPHO II

A passage in the Iliad impressed me some time ago with its portrayal of the symptoms of fear. It is in Book 10, which is so full of gloom and foreboding. Agamemnon, coming to Nestor, says (90–95)[1]:

'. . .I wander thus, for that sweet sleep rests not on mine eyes, but war is my care, and the troubles of the Achaians. Yea, greatly I fear for the sake of the Danaans, nor is my heart firm, but I am tossed to and fro, and my heart is leaping from my breast, and my good knees tremble beneath me'.

This passage is unique among the numerous descriptions of fear in Homer. Notice the rhetorical ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτημαι; it is translated above by 'I am tossed to and fro', but it might better be translated, with Bechtel (Lexilogus zu Homer, 34), by 'I am beside myself'. To say that the heart leaps from the breast would be more suitable to express the effect produced by the sudden apprehension of danger. Now, the grouping of the four emotional phrases whose description closes this passage called to my mind the famous poem (II), in which Sappho enumerates nine symptoms of passionate love:

'A peer of the gods seems the man to me that sits in thy presence, and near by listens to thy sweet speecn and love-enkindling laughter; this indeed makes my heart flutter in my breast. For, when I look upon thee, no sound of voice more issues from my throat, my tongue is palsied, and straightway a subtle flame has coursed throughout my frame. With eyes I nothing see, there's humming in my ears, and sweat runs over me; I am all of a tremble and paler than grass; methinks I am about to die, of sense bereft'.

The question arose in my mind, whether Homer's elaborate description of fear had not suggested to Sappho an elaborate description of overpowering love; and whether, furthermore, her poem should not be regarded primarily as a literary product, rather than as "a pathological picture of the tumultuous passion experienced by Sappho in the presence of a woman she loves" (Smyth, 233–234). The latter is the ancient view, and seems still to prevail. Plutarch, Demetrius 38.3, lets the physician Erasistratus detect in Antiochus, whenever Stratonice appears, Sappho's symptoms of love (compare Jahn-Vahlen, Longinus, page 23):

'. . .There appeared, in the case of Antiochus, all those symptoms of Sappho: the choking of the voice, the feverish blush, the obscuring of vision, profuse sweat, disordered and tumultuous pulse, and, finally, when he was completely overcome, bewilderment, amazement, and pallor'.

We notice that the buzzing ears and the trembling have been omitted; the irregular pulse is a physician's observation. But Sappho's symptoms cannot be regarded as specific manifestations of love; they are symptoms of extraordinary excitement which may show themselves under various circumstances, such as fear, anxiety, and overpowering joy (compare James, Psychology 2. 446–448, 454). Sappho calls him blessed who can sit in the presence of the charming woman addressed, and listen to her sweet conversation and love-inspiring laughter, whereas she herself is simply overcome when she gazes at her. The overwhelming effect of love-inspiring beauty, rooted in folkpoetry (Smyth, 242), had long been a commonplace. So, when Hera appears before Zeus (Il. 14. 294), 'love came over his deep heart'. Later (315–316), Zeus says, 'For never once as thus did the love of goddess or woman so mightily overflow and conquer the heart within my breast'. Paris says to Helen (Il. 3.442), 'For never yet hath love so enwrapped my heart'. Again, when Penelope appears before the suitors (Od. 18. 212), '. . . straightway the knees of the wooers were loosened, and their hearts were enchanted with love'. Hesiod says (Theogony 120–122), '. . . Eros, who . . . most beautiful among the immortal gods, limb-relaxing, conquers the mind and thoughtful counsel in the breasts of all the gods and of all mankind'. In Archilochus, Frag. 111 (Hiller-Crusius), we have 'but me, my friend, limb-relaxing longing conquers'; in Frag. 102, 'wretched I lie, lifeless from longing, by will of the gods,

[1]Unless otherwise indicated, references to the fragments of the Greek lyric poets are to the volume entitled Greek Melic Poets, by Herbert Weir Smyth (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1900). References are made also to Professor Smyth's commentary on the fragments. The translations of the passages from Homer come from the well-known translation of the Iliad, by Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers, and from that of the Odyssey, by S. H. Butcher, and Andrew Lang (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, 1917).

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pierced through my bones with grievous pains'; and, in Frag. 104, 'for such longing for love, having ensconced itself in my heart, shed a deep mist over my eyes, stealing from my breast my gentle mind' (Smyth, 236, cites this as a parallel to Sappho's 'with eyes I nothing see'). In contrast with this somewhat terrifying picture of Eros, Alkman (XIII) gives him a gentler aspect: 'Eros again, by will of Aphrodite, flowing sweet, warms me in my heart'. On this Professor Smyth (196) cites Hesiod, Theogony 910: 'from their eyes, as they looked, flowed limb-relaxing love'. Alcman (Frag. XV) lets Eros appear as a mischievous boy, skipping from flower to flower, a description that is in the style in which Anacreon delights. To Alcaeus (III), however, Eros is still 'the most fearful of the gods'. Professor Smyth, commenting on this fragment, says (215): " . . . His genealogy as given in Alkaios characterizes his stormy, impetuous nature"; he cites Sappho XIII, 'Eros has shaken my heart as a wind rushing upon oaks on the mountain'. On page 241 he calls attention to Od. 5.368, 'And as when a great tempestuous wind tosseth a heap of parched husks'. Compare here also Il. 14. 398–399: 'nor calls the wind so loudly in the high leafy tresses of the trees <oaks>, when it rages and roars its loudest'. The dread aspect of Eros appears again in Sappho XVI, 'Eros again, the limb-relaxing, agitates me, the bitter sweet, invincible monster' (Professor Smyth, 242, gives interesting parallels). And so, in the poem under discussion, Sappho's heart becomes greatly agitated; and we may note that the verb which introduces her agitation is used to denote fright in Od. 22.298, and 18.340 (compare Smyth, 235). Her agitation becomes so great that her voice fails her, a fact that is made emphatic in two sentences. This two-fold description seems noteworthy, as the failure of Penelope's voice, when she hears of the danger to which Telemachus is exposed, is similarly described (Od. 4. 703–706):

'. . .So spake he, but her knees were loosened where she stood, and her heart melted within her, and long time was she speechless, and lo, her eyes were filled with tears and the voice of her utterance was stayed. And at the last she answered him and said'.

The part of this passage expressing speechlessness is used, word for word, in Il. 17.695–696, to describe the effect of the news of Patroclus's death on Antiochus.

Thus far (verses 1–9), our poem gives but another description of the sudden awakening of love's stormy passion. But now follows a notable expansion. Sappho feels a warm glow spread over her body, which we might have expected to develop along the lines of πόθος; instead of this, she is seized with vertigo (compare Plutarch, Amatorius 18), so that her sight fails her, her ears buzz, sweat breaks out over her, she trembles all over, she becomes paler than grass, and is on the point of swooning. We can recognize all, or most, of these symptoms as antecedent to a spell of fainting, which she uses to form a climax, to balance the initial agitation. It is interesting to note that in the Odyssey the climax of recognitions is the fainting of old Laertes in the arms of his son (24. 345–350); Laertes's pathetic figure reminds one of old Priam in Iliad 24. The Homeric passages that have been cited are all impressive, as they stand out from a background of numerous passages that are very simple and stereotyped. The Greek phrase 'knees and heart were loosened', which is used to describe the effect of a blow in Il. 21. 425, is used to describe fear in Il. 21.114, Od. 5.297, 406, 22.68, 147, anxiety in Od. 4.703, and joy in Od. 23.205, 24.345. Similarly, the expression 'limbs were loosened' describes the result of a wound in Il. 7.16, 15.435, fear in Od. 18.341, and grief in Il. 18.31. No one doubts that Sappho had a highly emotional and passionate nature; on the other hand, there cannot be any question of the assistance a writer derives from the formulation by other writers of the ideas he, or she, desires to express. Homer's influence on Sappho is vouched for by the Homeric words and phrases which she adopts (compare Smyth, 230). Assuming, then, that the passages in Homer describing fear and anxiety, which stand out so prominently, as shown above, influenced Sappho in her choice of symptoms, we can turn to Lucretius 3.152–158 with heightened interest, for he uses the symptoms of her poem to describe fear:

> Verum ubi vementi magis est commota metu mens,
> consentire animam totam per membra videmus
> sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto
> corpore et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri,
> caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,
> denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus
> saepe homines.

Perhaps the most striking example of Homer's possible influence on Sappho may be seen in the case of her beautiful introduction, which looks as if it had been suggested by Od. 17.518–521, where Eumaeus describes to Penelope the charm of listening to Odysseus as he tells of his adventures:

'. . .Even as when a man gazes on a singer, whom the gods have taught to sing words of yearning joy to mortals, and they have a ceaseless desire to hear him so long as he will sing; even so he charmed me, sitting by me in the halls'.

This passage must have been famous among the song-loving Greeks, and may have suggested the scene on the Orpheus vase (compare Bulle, Der Schöne Mensch, Pl. 305; or Ernest Buschor, Greek Vase-Painting, as translated by G. C. Richards, 143), a scene that grows on one, as we try to interpret each figure, one of which, especially, illustrates Homer's ποτιδέρκεται (verse 518). Alma Tadema has similarly pictured the enraptured gaze of the listener, in his famous painting, Alcaeus and Sappho, now in the Walter's Art Gallery, Baltimore. In the Odyssey 17.518–521, Eumaeus describes the enraptured listener as gazing on the bard, who sings 'words of yearning joy'; Sappho describes her favored mortal as listening to 'sweet speech and laughter that awakens yearning'. Professor Smyth (235) cites as a parallel Il. 6.484, 'laughing with tears in her eyes'; we are reminded of Alcman VII, 'maidens, honey voiced, of yearnful speech'. Like the epic poet, Sappho begins with a characterization of the object of her admiration, and then describes her own feelings, just as the epic

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passage concludes with 'even so he charmed me, sitting by me in the halls'. She too listens.

The effective simplicity of Sappho's poem may be understood as the clarifying result of previous attempts of others to describe emotional symptoms.

The usual interpretation of Sappho's poem is largely under the influence of the beautiful, but fanciful, eulogy of Longinus, De Sublimitate 10, to which work we owe the preservation of the poem. Professor Smyth quotes Longinus thus (233):

'Are you not astonished how at the same time her soul, body, ears, tongue, sight, colour, all vanish and disappear as completely as if they were not her own? She experiences contradictory sensations—at one and the same moment she freezes, burns, raves, reasons; so that it is not a single passion that is here set forth, but a congress of passions'.

But how, for example, can 'she freezes' be derived from χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι? Homer, indeed, uses χλωρός frequently to describe the pallor produced by fear, a connection that suggests cold; but the word strictly denotes color, and so is used as an epithet of honey in Il. 11.631, Od. 10.234, and of the club of olive wood in Od. 9.320; moreover, its various connotations include 'freshness' and 'strength', but never 'cold'. However, if the word is associated with the phrase 'and sweat runs over me', as has been commonly done, there may be some justification for thinking of a 'cold sweat'. At any rate, it was probably under the influence of the author of the De Sublimitate that Ambrose Philips translated by "In dewy damps my limbs were chilled, My blood with gentle horror thrilled", and J. H. Merivale by "And cold drops fall" (see H. T. Wharton, Sappho [New York, Brentano, 1920], 58, 59). H. L. Havell's translation of Longinus (New York, Macmillan, 1890) reads, "With dewy damps my limbs are chilled, An icy shiver shakes my frame'. And yet Sappho's 'I am paler than grass' is a mild, not to say obscure, basis for the above interpretations. But, what is more to the point, the association of pallor with sweat, assumed above, is mistaken, as can be seen by an examination of the structure of this poem, which is similar to that of the ode to Aphrodite. In the latter, the second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas all begin with a continuation of the content of the one preceding. The sixth stanza is not linked in the same way, but, nevertheless, makes close connection, in verse 21, with what precedes, and the last stanza harks back to the beginning of the ode with ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν. Similarly in Sappho's poem, καὶ γελαίσας ἰμερόεν[2], (5), and ἀλλὰ καμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε[3] (9) are each a part of the respective stanza preceding. Accordingly, we have a right to assume that ἀ δὲ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται (13) is the development of the warmth and 'vertigo' described in the third stanza, and that the sentence 'I am paler than grass' is to be taken merely as the last symptom of a progressive series, culminating in the sense of swooning.

If the above discussion is substantially well-founded, the reputation of Sappho as a literary artist can only be enhanced. Free of anything strictly sensuous, the poem becomes a splendid example of Sappho's poetic imagination, which gives a solid basis for the belief that even those fragments of her poetry which must be classed as sensuous are also the products of her poetic imagination.

Before closing it seems worth while to call attention to Catullus 51, which follows the first three stanzas of Sappho's poem more closely than seems to be generally allowed. To appreciate this better, and for greater enjoyment, we ought to read the poem with the second stanza completed with some conjectural reading like *vocis in ore* (see Professor E. T. Merrill's edition). The abrupt warning against dangerous leisure in the last stanza seems like a humorous criticism of such extreme infatuation.

GOUCHER COLLEGE,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND HERMAN L. EBELING

[2]Professor Smyth prints this word with the *mu* doubled.
[3]A digamma should be prefixed to this word.

REVIEWS

Horace and His Influence. By Grant Showerman. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1922). Pp. xviii+176. $1.50.

As a British scholar, I esteem it a high privilege to have been invited to review Professor Showerman's volume in the series admirably conceived to exhibit to us of the modern world "Our Debt to Greece and Rome". This very readable book is based both on knowledge, and, what I should say is indispensable for appreciation of this poet above all others, on affection. I remember that, some years ago, a critic, in noticing my book, A Literary History of Rome, suggested that I had been too good to Horace. Possibly some of his frank paganism had given offense to the reviewer; but I never felt inclined to retract any kind word I ever said of the Roman poet, and, now that I have read Professor Showerman's estimate, I know that I shall unsay nothing. The book will be found successfully to interest readers in the many phases of Horace's character, attitude, thought, and style: in this way it makes him live again within his own environment; but the author's task was a wider one than that, for he has traced in outline the continued vitality of the poet's influence in medieval times, through the Renascence, and in more recent centuries.

At the outset emphasis is rightly laid on the personal factor which underlies and explains Horace's undying appeal—what one might call his wonderful power of winning friends at epochs other than his own; and the interpretation of Horace as person and writer consists largely in a skilful paraphrase of his own words. "The pages which follow", says the author (5), "are a manner of Horatian mosaic. They contain little not said or suggested by the poet himself". For those, then, who know their Horace there are constant and happy echoes of his verses, and for those who do not know Latin there is a vivid and entertaining representation of his habits, feelings, opinions, and counsel. The prose summary of Horatian thought is enlivened by verse translations, sometimes borrowed from others, some-

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times by Professor Showerman. It is proper that all of us who write about Horace should try our hand at rendering him, if only to prove that, as Frederic Harrison said, "Horace remains forever the type of the untranslatable", and that, as the author remarks (147), ". . . no other poet has left behind him so long a train of disappointed aspirants". Nevertheless, Est quodam prodire tenus si non datur ultra. The honest pursuit of an ideal is nowise a wholly futile quest: and some of the later portions of this work show very charmingly how much in modern times has been achieved in translation, adaptation, or almost unconscious imitation of Horace, whose spirit and manner in many ways are mighty yet.

The three main sections of the book are entitled Horace Interpreted (3–68), Horace Through the Ages (69–126), and Horace the Dynamic (127–167). In the first, a sane and satisfying account is given of Horace as man, as poet, as interpreter of his time and his country, and as a counsellor in life. Here I am glad to note, in passing, Professor Showerman's conclusion (24) that "Horace loved both city and country", because it confirms a protest which I once made (A Literary History of Rome, 539) against mistaking him for an absolute townsman. The second section is a good historical sketch of the manner in which the works and the influence of Horace have been bequeathed through the centuries, and it concludes with an outline of the modern feeling for him in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England, and in the Schools. This forms a logical introduction to the final section, where the author concerns himself with the dynamic effect of Horace upon literature, upon criticism through the doctrines of the Ars Poetica (which are usefully summarized), and upon the translator's ideal. In the brief Notes and Bibliography appended at the close (173–176), it was an excellent idea to incorporate references to the text of the poet for such persons as wish to increase their acquaintance with Horace by reading at first-hand the principal poems which have inspired the essayist's conclusions. Poems are grouped under heads to illustrate Horace as man, poet, interpreter of his times, or philosopher of life; and by such means a veritable anthology is provided.

Broadly I am in agreement with Professor Showerman's attitude to Horace. I am quite certain that we are in friendly rivalry as Horace-lovers; but I do not go all the way with him when he contrasts Horace with Vergil. Is Vergil really "the readily understood" (80)? And is it safe to declare Horace "more intellectual than Vergil" (91)? There must be many students who, like myself, find more and more profundity in Vergil at each fresh reading. With the description of Horace on page 91 as "the poet strictly of this world and in no respect of the next" I concur; only, I should add that Vergil is a poet both of this world and of the next, and a diviner of the innermost things of human destiny. The depth of Vergil is not solely depth of emotion; it is also a depth of thought. Horace possesses the gift of practical wisdom applicable to everyday existence; Vergil possesses what might be called the wisdom of eternity. There is, however, a risk of overdoing such contrasts; the poets are largely incommensurate and incommensurable. At the same time, as contrasts have been mentioned, I might suggest that it would have been worth while, in the interest of the general reader, to make passing comment at page 78 on Quintilian's omission of Catullus in his remark, 'Of our lyric poets, Horace is about the only one worth reading'.

A few points might be considered in view of a second edition. On pages 40–41 it is doubtful whether a Latin-less reader would grasp that the quotation there translated is from Lucretius; it is not clearly introduced. On page 99 something has gone wrong in printing. Line 9 reappears as line 13, but even its excision unfortunately does not leave the sentence intelligible. Personally, if I may venture, without being considered captious, to speak candidly, I wish Professor Showerman would not give the sanction of his authority to the use of certain nouns as verbs—e. g. "vagabonding" (7) and "glimpsed" (167)—, but I know it is open to him to retort that Elizabethan English in the one case and James Russell Lowell in the other are ample justification. We all observe, however, weaker brethren extending the practice objectionably.

These, after all, are but small matters. The book is stimulating because its writer has brought out the spiritual force in Horace and the lessons to be derived here and now from his humane sagacity and consummate expression of experience. No attentive reader can ever take Horace for a careless and shallow epicure; and Professor Showerman does not let one forget the somber side of the poet's feelings. The "Black Care" of Carmina 3.1 comes like a refrain on several of his pages (20, 45, 48, 51) to show that Horace sincerely faced the realities of life. If he had not based his philosophy of living upon a thoroughly sympathetic knowledge of man and the world, he could not have continued to be regarded as a helpful and genial oracle through the ages. In much he abides no less fresh to-day than in the distant Roman past. Human nature is much the same; for, as Austin Dobson wrote:

> Science proceeds, and man stands still;
> Our 'world' today's as good or ill,—
> As cultured (nearly),
> As yours was, Horace! You alone
> Unmatched, unmet, we have not known.

Yet, could we but meet, should we not both know and like him?

ARMSTRONG COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
J. WIGHT DUFF

Virgil and his Meaning to the World of To-day. By J. W. Mackail. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1922.) Pp. x+159. $1.50.

Mr. Mackail occupies a sort of deanship among our classical scholars and wears his honors with such graciousness and dignity that one feels it almost a breach of courtesy to think of differing with him, which we have no serious intention of doing. His services to the Classics, and to Vergil in particular, have been of solid

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value and long duration, and he has established such a store of gratitude with all of us that we are ready not only to join in the plaudits but also to lead the applause. The general public cares little about the speculations and controversies of philologians, at least until they have passed the stage of filtering, evaporating, and crystallizing, and this little volume, together with its fellows in the series, Our Debt to Greece and Rome, is intended for the lay reader. The office of middleman Mr. Mackail performs preeminently well, and, although the professional student discerns by many indications here and there that the most recent contentions are not unknown to him, yet he traverses newly broken ground with cautious footsteps. In one instance alone do we feel that he has transgressed this wise reserve, in his unconditional acceptance of the theory of Skutsch that Gallus wrote the Ciris (55). In a book of this class we should have preferred to leave this among unsolved problems.

He has followed his master in dividing his material into twelve parts. In the first chapters he treats of the poet's accumulating charm from age to age, the world he lived in, the men who preceded him, and the path of his fortunes. The Eclogues are then expounded as the manifesto of a new humanism, and the Georgics as an idealization of Italy. Next are discussed the poet's approach to the epic theme, the architecture of the Aeneid, its human content, and the Italo-Roman ideal embodied there. The final chapters deal with the poet's place in the medieval and modern world, and with his style and diction. At the end Mr. Mackail rightly pleads, as it seems to me, for the spelling *Virgil*[1], which prevailed in English literature from Chaucer onwards, and he has added four pages of notes not likely to bewilder the general reader. The bibliography recites only twenty-three titles, from which controversial writings are excluded as well as a few others well known to laymen and specialists.

Mr. Mackail writes in his accustomed style, daintily embellished by apt Vergilian touches and illuminated by choice quotations; the tone is steadily expository and not apologetic. The latter quality of the treatment calls for particular commendation and sets a golden example. The trite topic of imitation is sagely belittled and Vergil is appraised, not as a successor of others, but as a founder and a forerunner of modern literatures. The great desideratum, of course, is not to be able to realize what Vergil did not perform nor yet to expose the metamorphosis of the crude material of the Aeneid from some amorphous shape to its present order and beauty, but to become seized of the effect produced by it upon the generation it first captivated, the influence it exerted through the ages, and by means of leisurely reflection and study to enjoy its accumulated charms to-day. From the time when Pope, slyest and most malicious of English poets, undertook, with only too much success, to exalt Homer at the expense of Vergil, mainly with arguments borrowed from Madame Dacier and her school, there has been a steady tradition of Vergilian faint praise and half-apology, a baser thing than flat detraction, in English scholarship, and English scholars, by the way, have deserved far better of Greek literature than of Latin. Mr. Mackail, on the other hand, has been an able and constant interpreter of the Latins; he has steadily exalted Vergil for his positive merits, and he was not imposed upon by the great name of Nettleship (98; page 156, note 23).

The Vergilian field, rather strangely, has been neglected; it is lined with old entanglements of criticism and traditional opinions. Attempts are now being made to cut a new path across them, and, when sufficient time has elapsed to appraise the results, it is possible that we shall have need of new handbooks, but at the moment the manual before us deserves the widest dissemination. It is calculated to make friends for the Classics and for Vergil, to increase the number of the lovers of great works of literature, and to gain lay support for professional scholarship. If service of this kind should be allowed to flag, the world would be greatly the loser. The campaign in the interests of culture based on literature must be carried on unceasingly. We begin to lose ground as soon as we cease to gain it. The moment our efforts are relaxed the boat begins to drift downstream.

VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO NORMAN W. DEWITT

The Tradition of the Roman Empire. A Sketch of European History. By C. H. St. L. Russell. London: Macmillan and Co. (1921). Pp. viii+280.

In a small, compact volume, Mr. C. H. St. L. Russell, Assistant Master at Clifton College, England, has essayed to present a sketch of the peoples and the States of Europe from the earliest times down to the outbreak of the World War, in 1914, and to show thereby the influence of the tradition of the Roman Empire upon medieval and modern Europe.

In his Preface (vi), the author thus states the underlying thought of his work: " . . . to appreciate the history of any individual European country some knowledge is necessary of the history of Europe as a whole . . . ". His attack upon the problem differs, as he well states (vi), from many others that have preceded it or have followed it, " . . . in beginning somewhat further back, and in regarding, as the heart of the whole matter, Rome". He believes, with "A great historian" (5), that, to understand the modern world, the story of modern nations,

> . . ."We must ever be thinking of *Rome*, ever looking to *Rome*, sometimes looking forward to it, sometimes looking back to it, but always having *Rome* in mind as the centre of the whole story".
>
> The results of the fall of Rome have lasted to the present day. . . .There is to-day hardly a state in Europe which has not been in some way or other, as friend or foe, connected with the Roman Empire: most of them owe their existence, directly or indirectly, to its growth, its fall, or its revival.

Mr. Russell devotes his first three chapters to The Making of the Roman Empire (5–27), Rome and the Conquest of the World (29–48), and the Overthrow of

[1] THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY spells with *e*: see 15.107, note 1. C. K.

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the Roman Empire by the Barbarians (49–78). In the five remaining chapters (81–249) he traces the tradition of the Roman Empire, and the attempts to recreate the empire of the Caesars. In brief, Mr. Russell views the history of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire in the West as embodied in one French attempt and three Teuton attempts to rebuild that Empire.

Chapter IV (81–113) is devoted to the First Teuton Attempt to recreate the Roman Empire—to that empire which was established by Charlemagne, and to the growth of the tradition that the Teutonic peoples were to reestablish and revive the Roman Empire. This First Teuton Attempt, known as the Roman Empire until the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa prefixed to its name the adjective Holy, continued, says Mr. Russell, to 1254 A. D., under varying direction and leadership; it ended with the period of Papal domination of the Emperors. In Chapter V (115–135) Mr. Russell traces the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire, and the emergence of France as a State, the rise and the fall of the Italian Republics, and the disintegration of Germany.

Chapter VI (137–174) deals with the Second Teuton Attempt, under the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain. This, Mr. Russell believes, began in 1437, with the accession of the Emperor Albert II, and came to a close with the Treaty of Utrecht. Within the period of this Attempt were included the Reformation and the Religious Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter VII (175–205) is devoted to an account of the attempt by France to build up an empire under the Bourbons and under Napoleon, between 1648 and 1815. In Chapter VIII (207–249) Mr. Russell discusses the Third Teuton Attempt, which started after the overthrow of Napoleon's empire. Undertaken and pressed by the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, this attempt to revive the Roman Empire came to an end with the German defeat in 1918. As the author says in his Preface (vi), to this War, " . . . one may hope, as its last climax—the Tradition of the Roman Empire, here dealt with, may, through the long, troubled, centuries, be said to lead".

There are three Appendixes. The first (251–253) gives a list of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and their successors. The second (254–259) contains an Ethnological Table. The third (260–264) gives a summary of the principal events in the history of the individual States of Europe. An Index (265–280), and eight outline maps, which show the political organization of Europe in A. D. 364, 476, 800, 962, 1190, 1559, 1811, and 1914, complete the volume.

Mr. Russell has made use primarily, as he says in his Preface (v–vi), of such recognized authorities as Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, Ranke, History of the Popes, and Carl Ploetz, Epitome of History. His thesis and his method have led him to make short, definite statements and interpretations, which the reader constantly wishes the author had had space to expand and justify. Occasional footnotes furnish additional information, but seldom do we find, in text or footnotes, specific references to justify statements of fact or interpretations.

Mr. Russell has produced an interesting and suggestive exposition of the influence of Rome upon the medieval and the modern world. The Holy Roman Empire acknowledged by its very name the tradition of the ancient Roman Empire. Founded by Charlemagne, it acquired its full title during the twelfth century and continued, in name at least, until 1806. Mr. Russell maintains that this was a Teutonic tradition, and that it was this tradition that influenced the Hohenzollerns during the last century.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY CHARLES MERRIAM KNAPP

A Plain Guide to Greek Accentuation. Third Edition. By F. Darwin Swift. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1922). Pp. 22. 3 Sh.

This is a collection of rules for the position of the Greek accent, with lists of the exceptions likely to be met in preparing exercises in Greek prose. Both rules and exceptions are to be learned by rote, and the arrangement has been adopted solely with a view to convenience in memorizing. No attention is paid to scientific considerations, and no effort is made to enlist the student's reason as an aid to his memory. For example, on pages 16–17 are grouped under six heads and nineteen subheads the words taking the circumflex on the ultima. Many of these, including several whole categories, have the circumflex as a result of contraction; but the rule for the accentuation of contract forms is not stated until page 20. Even then it appears as one of eight "Notes", as if it were a matter of minor importance.

The author says, in his Preface (5), that he does "not believe that the custom of giving a beginner a few of the principal rules and exceptions, and then allowing him to pick up his knowledge by practice *i. e.* at random, is ever a success . . . ". One wonders whether the method here given succeeds much better; it is just possible that, after a boy has learned perfectly the hexameter list of "miscellaneous words" in ος which are oxytone, (page 10), he may some day write μύελος or κίσσος, because the words fail to call the lists to mind.

At any rate, it would probably be difficult to force or persuade a very large proportion of American boys and girls to learn Mr. Swift's rules and lists. And the reviewer cannot help suspecting that, in this case, the American boys and girls are right, although in general he believes that the memory work which is necessary in learning a language should be done early and once for all. The Greek conjugations and declensions must be learned by rote, and it saves time to learn in the same way a considerable number of rules of wide application, such as the rules for contraction and many rules for accent. There are also some useful generalizations about composition and derivation that are too much neglected. Aside from such matters a vocabulary should be acquired—and word-accent with it—bit by bit as the words occur in the texts read.

DGEWATER, N. J. E. H. STURTEVANT

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The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.
Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N.Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, No. 26 | MONDAY, MAY 14, 1923 | WHOLE NO. 449

American Classical League

Fourth Annual Meeting, Open to the Public
Held in the Natural Science Auditorium
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Saturday morning, June 30th, 1923
Promptly at ten o'clock

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Classical League will be held in the Natural Science Auditorium of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, June 30th, 1923. This meeting is open to the public. Announcement of the programme will be made later.

On Friday, June 29th, the Advisory Committee on the Classical Investigation will meet in the Michigan Union at ten o'clock in the morning and again at two o'clock in the afternoon. The Council of the American Classical League will meet in the Michigan Union Friday evening at eight o'clock.

The headquarters will be at the Michigan Union. Accommodations at reasonable rates have been arranged. Professor Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, is Chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements and all requests for reservation of accommodations should be addressed to him.

ANDREW F. WEST
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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, NO. 26 MONDAY, MAY 14, 1923 WHOLE NO. 449

A MATHEMATICIAN AND A PSYCHOLOGIST ON FORMAL DISCIPLINE

In School and Society for January 20, 1923 (17.63–71) there is an article entitled A Mathematician on the Present Status of the Formal Discipline Controversy, by Professor N. J. Lennes, of the Department of Mathematics in the State University of Montana. Professor Lennes states that, in this paper, which he read before the American Mathematical Association, at Rochester, New York, in November, 1922, he is making free use of material contained in his book, The Teaching of Arithmetic, published in April last by The Macmillan Company; see especially Chapter I[1].

Professor Lennes gives a brief—but very interesting and suggestive—sketch of the recent history of the discussion of the question of formal discipline (64–68). It was once held, he says (64–65), that the mind was made up of a set of distinct "faculties", each of which might be developed separately by proper training and exercise. Teachers and scholars then argued by analogy from the body to the mind. It was known that certain muscles may be developed by appropriate exercises; yet, while these muscles were thus being developed by a given set of exercises, others remained flabby and weak. To secure an all-round vigorous and powerful physique one needs well balanced general training (64).

. . .Similarly, it was thought, to secure an all-round strong and effective mind all the "faculties" of the mind must be brought into use. Certain studies involving much memorizing were thought to strengthen the memory; other studies such as mathematics, in which much reasoning or argumentation is involved, were thought to develop the reasoning faculties; and so on through the list. All that was left for the educational philosopher or statesman was to decide upon the kind of product desired from the educational process. The elements involved were clearly defined and the means of producing them fully set forth; and it appeared that nothing more could be required in this field, either of psychology or of educational doctrine.

Presently, says Professor Lennes (65), this doctrine was challenged by a new doctrine—that mental discipline is a myth;

. . .that the only results which are carried over from one study to another are the information obtained and the methods used in so far as these are applicable in identical form. What a change was this! According to the new doctrine the study of Latin, Greek, or mathematics is valuable if one wants to know Latin, Greek, or mathematics, but otherwise of very little value. Identity of method was construed so narrowly that very little if any was supposed to carry over from the study of these subjects to other subjects such as science, history, or economics, or to the problems of practical life.

The new doctrine rose from two distinct sources. It required no profound analysis to show that it would be necessary to revise if not entirely abandon the doctrine of the "faculties of the mind". It is obvious, for example, that, in carrying through a difficult piece of work in reasoning, the memory is involved equally with the so-called reasoning faculties. Again it is easily shown that in practical life, ordinary acts of memory are equally complex. . . .the so-called "faculties" of the mind are inextricably mixed in every mental act except possibly the very simplest. . . .

But this new doctrine does not settle the matter for Professor Lennes. He declares that there is no necessary connection between the doctrine of mental discipline and the doctrine of "faculties" (65).

. . .Nothing is more dangerous than the all-too-common belief that doctrines closely associated historically and used in argumentation as mutually supporting one another are, in fact, so related that they must share an inseparable fate.

At this point he quotes President Angell, of Yale University, who, as long ago as 1908, when he was Professor of Psychology at the University of Chicago, wrote as follows, in the Educational Review 36.3, in an article entitled The Doctrine of Formal Discipline in the Light of the Principles of Psychology:

. . .It should not be assumed, however, that because the faculty psychology is exploded, therefore the inferences based upon it are all essentially erroneous. They may have other foundations than those upon which they were supposed to rest.

The problem was now, says Professor Lennes, attacked from a different angle, by the experimental psychologist. He sought, by actual tests, to discover whether training in one mental ability develops other and different abilities. On pages 66–68, Professor Lennes gives a description of the various types of experiments used by the psychologists. He plainly indicates his conviction (68) that these experiments have been of very little value, and that they afford no real justification for divers declarations with which classicists have been bombarded, such as "There is no mental training in any course of study, except for work like that done in the course", "There is no such thing as developing general mental ability", "There is no virtue in hard labor; the idea that mental power is increased through effort, however persistent, is dead". He condemns especially a declaration contained in a book entitled How to Teach Arithmetic, by Messrs. Brown and Coffman, published in Chicago, in 1914, in which we find the following extreme declaration (68):

[1]Professor Lennes's paper and Professor Stratton's book, of which summaries are given in this editorial, should be constantly studied, deeply, by all teachers, whatever their subject. Teachers of the Classics ought to derive from them much comfort—especially since they proceed from scholars not interested at all, professionally, in the Classics. The extracts here given are meant as a Vade Mecum for the classical teacher, especially for the teacher who has access to few books and periodicals.

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. . .Habits are specific responses to specific stimuli. This means that we must teach each fact or theory worth teaching as if the salvation of the intellectual world depended upon it, for it may be that the limited training we get from any one of them will fail to modify us in some other desirable way[2].

Here, I turn away, for a while, from Professor Lennes to call attention, more particularly, to a book which has been mentioned in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, by Professor Nutting and Miss Pickett (16. 42, note 1, 132, note 1). I mean the little volume entitled Developing Mental Power, by Professor George M. Stratton, of the Department of Psychology, University of California (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922. Pp. x + 77). Professor Stratton "poses", as the saying is nowadays, our problem by the very title of his first chapter, Is the Mind a Gymnasium or a Tool-Chest? (1–6). Here he considers two views of the mind, each, to his way of thinking, wrong. One is that the child's mind "is a union of a few powers or faculties—like attention, observation, memory, imagination, and reason" (2). The opponents of this view held (3) that the belief

. . .in such powers goes with the antiquated idea of mental faculties, now of merely historic interest and swept aside with phrenology and its absurd map of the skull and brain. No study gives general training; it gives only particular training.

These are, plainly, the two opposing theories discussed by Professor Lennes. A psychologist's view of them will be of interest. One of these schools, says Professor Stratton (4), offers a belief "in particulars and in particulars only".

. . .The mind, this group maintains, is our convenient name for countless special operations or functions. We may train one of these functions or a number of them, but not a faculty in general—attention in general, or observation in general, or reasoning. Further, these countless particular functions are independent; they act almost as though they were insulated from one another; when you have trained one of them, you have trained that limited function and none else. What you do to the mind by way of education knows its place; it never spreads. You train what you train.

The inevitable corollary of such a view as this is clearly stated by Professor Stratton (5):

. . .Of a study we are to ask, "Does it contribute to the doing of the things that later will have to be done?" and not, "Does the study make the child's mind more alert, or sound, or sane?" "The purpose for which subjects are taught", writes Dr. Abraham Flexner, "lies not in the pupil's mind, but in the subject-matter and its relation to existence and life".

In a word, on this theory we cannot give the mind form; we can merely give it information. "Instead of moulding the mind, we are to fill the mind" (6).

Professor Stratton's second chapter is labelled Defects in the Rival Accounts (7–16). Most believers in mental discipline, he says, give but a poor account of the mind. They explain remembering, for instance, by talking of a faculty of remembering, which gives us a mere name; it does not give us the cause of memory. Again, the powers into which this school divides the mind—memory, imagination, reasoning—are not simple and uniform throughout.

. . .Memory is not a simple thing, but involves many kinds of acts, several of which are no more important for remembering than for seeing, imagining, or reasoning.

On the other hand, the child's mind is not merely a vessel into which knowledge is to be poured. A container is "both inert and indifferent". But the mind is active, "not indifferent, but selective, forever choosing and rejecting" (10). On this point, Professor Stratton dwells at some length (10–11).

To many the most heartening thing in all Professor Stratton's book will be the pages (11–14) in which he considers the doctrine that "You train what you train".

. . .It would be of startling, and, to some, almost disheartening, importance if the child's improvement in a foreign language—French or Latin, let us say—had no effect upon his command of the English language, or upon his interest in European history.

The experiments in clear support of this doctrine, however—that you train merely what you train—are few; most experiments contradict it. Improvement in judging the area of certain figures, as was just said, does not bring equal improvement in judging other figures. But the judgment of these other figures is not left untouched. On the contrary, it receives marked benefit. And while neatness in classroom may remain within narrow limits, it can easily be made to pass these limits. If the children in writing their arithmetic lesson, for example, are urged to neatness as of universal value, their papers in geography also will be neater, even though this other subject may not be named in the urging. Or, again, if a person practice with the right hand the tossing and catching of balls, keeping two in the air at once, until he has attained a high degree of skill, will the effect of the practice be confined to the right hand? No; it will appear also in the left; it may be as though fully two-thirds of the practice had in some way been transferred to the hand that has not been practiced at all. And in many other directions of research, transfer of training is found. The cultivation of the mind is thus not at all like that of land where the ploughing of one field does not affect the soil beyond the fence. Effects here do not stay confined, but spread. . .

Instead, then of proving that you train what you train, the psychological experiments which have so troubled the waters of education prove that normally you train what you do not train[3]. Indeed, these experiments seem to have been seized upon by men convinced already and beating about for evidence, rather than by men unbiased and glad to go wherever the evidence might lead.

Next Professor Stratton maintains that there are general habits of employing our powers which are distinctly cultivateable (14–16). Such a habit, for instance, is the habit of punctuality. Another is the assumption of "a fighting attitude toward what is hard to do" (16). To offset the attitude of credulity, almost universal in little children, children can be trained, Professor Stratton believes, in another habit, "which means that one will hesitate, will weigh and test, will look to the evidence for all important statements". Again, the child can be trained in the habit of seeing the interests of others and letting this be a

[2] Professor Lennes notes that, to get meaning into this passage, we must read 'any' for "some".

[3] The italics are mine.

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constant check upon his self-seeking, a spur to action that is generous.

We therefore dare not accept either of the two views of the mind discussed in Chapters I and II, says Professor Stratton.

I can take the space to dwell upon but one more chapter of this book—Chapter IV, Influences Within Intelligence (24–28), whose purpose is to "observe to what extent the mind's own functions touch one another". Every one needs knowledge—knowledge certainly of the particular things which will ultimately have to do with the main work of his life. But often a boy does not know and no one else can tell him "whether beets, engines, taxation, tuberculosis, or the Gospel will lie at the center of his thinking in the time to come". Obviously, he cannot study all these things, that he may be ready for the day of action.

. . .Inevitable and enormous waste is in that direction. He had best be at home in the central studies into which all special subjects lead. These more central studies may be less attractive just because they are more abstract, more remote from some particular work in hand; and for that reason more of art may be needed to make the "practical" youth, hating abstractions, ready to give himself heartily to their forbidding generalities. The skill of the teacher is displayed in conquests of this kind. General truths, when seen and understood, are so much more powerful instruments than are mere particular and detached bits of knowledge, that surrender upon this point will hardly be permitted by any able teacher. . . .Ideas, then, are guides, are directors of habit; in them is compacted wisdom, and whoever tries to do without a good stock of them foregoes the advantage which comes from the experience of the race. They permeate the special functions which seem to separate, and bind them into a common plan and use. The organizing effect of such ideas helps one to escape that pseudo-education given by books of ten thousand facts, which is so attractive to scattered wits.

But along with the knowledge, along with the ideas, the boy and the man will need certain established habits of mind that are *not* knowledge or ideas. Among these habits are (27)

controlled attention to the task in hand; energetic attack upon it, accuracy in interpreting, remembering and reporting what is seen or read or heard; the power to distinguish important and unimportant. These are part of intellectual training; these and other things take the place of the few faculties of the older belief. They stand out significant to an eye bewildered by the endless array of special functions which for some are the only things left. These wide and superior powers call for training, and the lad who has them trained has an incalculable advantage over every lad in whom they remain untrained.

(To be concluded)

C. K.

REVIEWS

An Introduction to the History of History. By James T. Shotwell. New York: Columbia University Press (1922). Pp. xii + 339. $4.00.

This is a volume of the series, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, of which Professor Shotwell is editor. Although the expectation was that this would be the first volume, it had three predecessors. One of these, Hellenic Civilization, by Professors Botsford and Sihler, was reviewed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10. 78–79, by Professor A. T. Olmstead.

The contents of the volume under review are as follows:

Preface, vii-ix; Introduction, 1–78 (Definition and Scope of History, 1–11; Prehistory: Myths and Legend, 12–27; Books and Writing, 28–39; The Measuring of Time, 40–50; Egyptian Annals, 51–65; Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian Records, 66–78); Jewish History, 79–127; Greek History, 128–210 (From Homer to Herodotus, 128–143; Herodotus, 144–161; Thucydides, 162–178; Rhetoric and Scholarship, 179–190; Polybius, 191–201; Later Greek Historians, 202–210); Roman History, 211–277 (History at Rome; Oratory and Poetry, 211–224; Roman Annalists and Early Historians, 225–235; Varro, Caesar and Sallust, 236–246; Livy, 247–256; Tacitus, 257–272; From Suetonius to Ammianus Marcellinus, 273–277); Christianity and History, 278–313; Mediaeval and Modern History: The Interpretation of History, 314–334; Index, 335–339.

Except in the last chapter, the writer deals only with ancient historiography. This is a field which Professor Shotwell disclaims as his own, and he apologizes for working it on so large a scale (viii). Had some scholar, "properly equipped not only with the classics and the languages of Western Asia, but also with archaeology and its associated sciences. . .done the work", Professor Shotwell had not made this adventure. One may remark that Messrs. Wells and Van Loon, in transgressing on, poaching in, or floundering through—for they do all three—the unlimited field of history, may have done a real service. Their success, both with the reading public and financially, makes one wish that any one or more of a half dozen historical men in this country, more capable than Wells and Van Loon together, had braved the criticisms of the Narrowfieldians and written a world history.

Professor Shotwell is very welcome in the field of ancient history. He has read a world of sources and has his bibliography well in hand, and he brings to the interpretations put on their times by the writers of history in antiquity his own wide knowledge of medieval and modern interpretations. He has also "the allurements of style and often even of imaginative appeal which win readers for history".

Professor Shotwell first defines briefly the scope of history, and then plunges into the devious archaeological, anthropological, mythical, and legendary paths of prehistory. After showing how far these paths can be followed safely and where one had better stop, he turns aside and devotes two chapters to a most excellent account of the "two indispensable bases for history: writing and mathematics" (27). These chapters deal with Books and Writing, and with The Measuring of Time. Professor Shotwell's article on The Discovery of Time, in The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, 12 (1915), is the basis of the authoritative and readable résumé which he gives in the book here under discussion. The desire of primitive man "to calculate for a future" (40) is posited as the underlying incentive which started him on the way to discover a method of measur-

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ing time. The author gives a neat and brief explanation (46) of the way Professors Meyer and Breasted arrived at the date 4,241 B. C. as the starting-point for the invention of the calendar.

Egyptian annals began with lists of names of rulers (54) and the rather boastful attachment thereto of accounts of victorious achievements. "The earliest historical record which has come down to us, is a development from just such lists of names" (55). This record is the so-called Palermo stone (the author uses a photograph of it as his frontispiece), a fragment which has preserved names and facts of three reigns of the fifth dynasty of Egypt (2,750–2,625 B. C.). The author comments at some length upon this record (56–60), as well as upon the longest and most important historical Egyptian inscription, that of Thothmes or Thutmose III, on the walls of the corridor which surrounds the great temple of Ammon at Karnak (60–62).

The value of Egyptian and Babylonian records is less than it might have been, had not religion—or superstition—blocked the scientific methods which find their beginnings in criticism. As skepticism and criticism, then even more than now, were taken to be one and the same, it is easy to see why the scrutiny of the dispassionate eye of an historically-minded investigator would have been passionately discouraged.

The section of the book which deals with Jewish history is a *tour de force*. There is no briefer, yet more scholarly and complete, treatment of the Old Testament as history. It is no easy task to set the canons of traditional authenticity and those of modern criticism side by side in a way which is both convincing and inoffensive (81).

. . .Higher criticism, viewing the texts historically, at last reveals their setting in their own time and place, and presents them as a national product instead of a record of creation in the words of the Creator. For the former it is adequate, for the latter no doctrinal apologies could save it from the shafts of ridicule.

It is in this section, however, that the author has missed a wonderful opportunity. He draws a comparison between the Bible and a hypothetical book in which the heritage of Hellas had been preserved. It would consist of parts of Hesiod, fragments of the Iliad, of Platonic dialogues, of dramatic lines, of uninspiring Alexandrian critical comments, interspersed and commingled. Then, centuries later, Greek philosophers (= Israelitish theologians) would have come to believe that this composite work "had been first written down by Solon as the deliverance of Apollo at Delphi". This is really one of the prettiest of possible comparisons. If only Professor Shotwell had named in his comparison the oracle of Zeus at Dodona (the Greek Jahveh), instead of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi (the Greek Christ)!

Inasmuch as the author had already said (6) that history in its proper sense began with the Greeks, one would expect to find the section on Greek history of particular import. He sees that Hellenic genius was for a long time satisfied with poetical creation, and with what Homer and Hesiod told their countrymen of their origin. In fact, Hellas was a patchwork of political entities before political history in written form was thought of. The skeptical criticism which displaced blind acceptance of old authority came first in Ionia in Asia Minor, and there with startling rapidity grew that intellectual life that outran every previous achievement of the human mind—"that philosophy which was science, and that science which was art". Here in Hellas developed that bold free spirit of investigation which has given the Hellenic mind its high place in history.

The present trend of modern historical criticism, which increases the estimation in which Herodotus is held and depreciates correspondingly that of Thucydides, is followed by the author. To be sure, he does not fail to smite, gently withal, the Father of History on his blind side: "The very artlessness of Herodotus is artful. He is garrulous to a point, and sophistically ingenuous". In nine lines (167) he finds four weak joints in the armor of Thucydides: he was unable to grapple with the past, he did not give an adequate picture of Greek politics, he missed the economic forces of the time, and he put the policies of leaders only into the rhetorical speech form, and he, in the main, wrote the speeches himself. Professor Shotwell's observation that Thucydides believed that "war was the one and proper subject of history", is a sharp fair thrust. Two major requirements of the true historian are the "mastery of time-perspectives", and the "handling of the impersonal forces". We can easily excuse Thucydides with respect to the first, but not with respect to the second.

Greek historical writing has 82 pages devoted to it, Roman historical writing has 66. In dealing with Greek historical writing, the author paid most of his attention to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius; now he takes from Rome as the "three really great Latin historians" Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. With most modern critics, he considers Sallust as more worthy of high rank than any of his predecessors, because he tried to tell the truth, applying the standards of Thucydides and Polybius to what he wrote. His weaknesses were in his chronology and geography and in his lack of knowledge of scientific method. Livy is recognized as the national historian of Rome, and his weakness is due to that fact. Rome was always right; therefore Livy as a patriot is an historical narrator rather than a critic.

"From Livy to Tacitus is somewhat like passing from Herodotus to Thucydides. Tacitus, too, was an artist in history, a consummate artist" (257). But Tacitus has ruined each of his fine qualities as an historian by something unworthy. His magnificent character-sketches in general are vitiated by his occasional sketches drawn in a spiteful and vengeful mood; his much-to-be-desired observations on Rome as a phenomenon are forgotten in unimportant details; his brilliance of style is clouded often by a multiplicity of ideas compressed with philological pride into a paucity of words; his judgments incline toward the

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unfair when his class interests or his personal interests are at stake.

The value of this book by Professor Shotwell lies in its sanity of judgment, its clarity of phrase, and its contributions, both new and new-angled, made after the correct method of a research historian.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN

Zur Einheit der Ilias. By Heinrich Peters. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht (1922). Pp. 139.

This is a typical example of German Homeric analysis, except in one respect: it appears to be no mere journeyman work, but rather a labor of love, for the author calls on us to look at the facts themselves, admitting that there are weaknesses in his presentation of them. Inspired by Bethe and beginning with the observation of details in different parts of the Iliad which show a striking correspondence, Peters as it were maps out the poem with construction lines; he geometrizes it, reminding us at once of dynamic symmetry, even though his equations lack the alluring power of the rectangles that Mr. Hambidge (in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.62, 16.38) and Dr. Caskey apply to the Greek vase.

Peters bases his analysis on the time element of the Iliad, in particular the care with which the poet marks the beginning and the end of the important days of the story. He starts with the obvious division of the poem into introduction, conclusion, and four days of battle, and shows a symmetrical structure of the whole work as it has come down to us, based on the principle of chiasmus. Books 1, 2–7, and 8–9 correspond, respectively, he holds, to Books 24, 19–23, and 10–18. The mere mass of evidence, the countless resemblances in detail between the contrasting portions, and the enthusiasm with which all this is presented, are almost convincing—until we turn to our Homer again. Then we see that the poet, who could not have gained the power which he has had to attract lovers of poetry if he had not shown the nicest regard for his audience, hides from the casual reader this symmetry of form, and a rereading of Book 24 after Book 1 fails to convince us that the exact chiastic balance of Peters's analysis actually exists. Much more then are we inclined to reject the equating of Books 8–9 with the account of the third day of battle (Books 10–18).

German analysis has always had a tendency to prove too much; its chief defect, however, is the impression which it leaves in the mind that the Homeric poems are, one might say, syntheses, rather than world poetry. Now, all synthetic products lack the bouquet, the tone, and the atmosphere, the creative element, that are the essence of true poetry. The terms Chiasmus, Parallelismus, Spannung, Motivirung, Einrahmung, and the like remind us of the terminology used by chemists to describe the elements into which they have separated the materials which make our physical life possible: they do not attempt to give the spiritual explanation of the life itself. Some day some poet-philosopher will do this for Homer, and he will gratefully use the results of the German philological laboratory. For one of the secrets of the poet's charm lies hidden in the phenomena which the Germans label with the terms just mentioned. We imagine that the fundamental difference between Homer and all other great world poets will be found to consist in the *immediate* application, that is, without the intermediation of long *literary* development, of great creative and formative power to the simple story-teller's art and manner. The latter include above all else the repetition of familiar ideas and actions, and an ever-present regard for the economy of the listener's attention, especially by various uses of what Peters calls chiasmus. Aristarchus named it, in the one detail of style which he noticed, ἡ δεύτερον πρότερον ἀπάντησις (see the reviewer's discussion in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 31 [1920], 39–62: summarized in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.39); Bougot uses the term Law of Affinity; others have referred to it in different ways. It is a kind of periodicity by which the thoughts and the attention of the listener are led from the known to the unknown and back again. If one will carefully watch the narrative of any famous raconteur, he will see what I mean. The only point to be noted is that Homer applies this principle to his narrative more than others do, and in a greater variety of ways.

To the manner of the simple teller of short and plain tales Homer adds numbers, rhythm, harmony. By numbers I mean due measure of material—episodes neatly constructed of parts nicely polished and built so as to permit of adjustment to the whole story; by rhythm, the alternation of high and low points, of contrasting action, scene and emotion, and of details of poetic ornament; and by harmony, the interplay of all the repeated and the new elements, the interweaving of manifold threads of the plot, the forward-looking and the backward reference, the consistency of the characters, and the cumulative force of the tale, which only the sustained power of poetic genius can give to almost unlimited poetic material of grand and noble character. Peters's 'construction lines', as I have called his equations, are only one illustration of this power of harmonization and rhythmizing; if one should start with another basis of analysis, one might reach a quite different conclusion. Furthermore, Peters uses in his schematic arrangements the repeated phrase and verse, forgetting, we think, that there may be another explanation for the repetition than the desire for symmetry. Granted the custom of using over and over again the same formula, there are two principles which govern its use: sameness of theme, and sameness of the poet's mood. One can easily note that in portions of the poem that are most continuous, that is, in the separate episodes, there are peculiarities of this kind. This is natural for any composer, especially if the making of the whole work lasts for years: the different parts of Gray's Elegy, for example, exhibit this influence of sameness of theme or of mood or of both. Yet it must be admitted that Peters's interpretation is possible, and at times, most probable.

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The by-products of Peters's analysis are often ex-

ceedingly suggestive, for example, the characterization of Odysseus as the adjutant of Agamemnon, and the remark that Glaucus came rightly by his pessimistic view of life. The part played by the scepter in Book 2 is shown more clearly than we remember to have seen it set forth before. The author calls attention to the contrast between the meeting of Achilles and his mother in the first and in the last book, without, however, reminding us that the poet takes pains to give us an impression of the farewell connoted in the final meeting (24.141–142). We think, too, that, if Homer had been asked to mention the most important single combats of the Iliad, he would not have omitted the one between Sarpedon and Patroclus. In the voluminous notes large citations are made from German authors, but only one foreigner, Terret, is mentioned.

Peters's book will not be easy reading for anyone who does not know his Homer almost by heart. But students of Homer will find it most suggestive for reference to any passage which they are studying, and all lovers of the poet will be grateful to its author for pointing out from a new angle how Homer unites most subtly the element of abstract form with its momentary manifestations, all so different, thus reducing his poetic material to a pattern (to use Professor Mackail's figure) without lessening its movement and life.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT SAMUEL E. BASSETT

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

V

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.—1922, Le Sens de Nepos dans Deux Inscriptions Latines de l'Ile de Bretagne, Joseph Loth; Constantin et le Dadouque d'Eleusis, Julien Baillet; Fouilles sur l'Emplacement d'une Basilique près de Douar-Ech-Chott à Carthage, R. P. Delattre.

Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques—July-August, L'Ideal Scientifique des Mathématiciens dans l'Antiquité et dans les Temps Modernes.

L'Anthropologie—September, 1922, Le Rôle des Fossiles en Mythologie, M. Louis Siret [the writer holds that the accounts of monsters in various cosmogonies, e. g. those of Hesiod and Lucretius, are based on actual fossil remains; he also traces an interesting parallel between the act of Ge in refusing to permit her children to be born, and that of Cronos in swallowing his].

Bibliotheca Sacra—Jan., Plotinus in Human Thought, Stewart Means.

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen—October-December, Review, by J. B. Hofmann, of Charles E. Bennett, Syntax of Early Latin, Volume 2, The Cases [unfavorable]; Review, by E. Hermann, of A. W. de Groot, Die Anaptyxe im Lateinischen [considered successful, on the whole, but as showing some errors in judgment].

Isis—April, 1922, Review, by L. Guinet, of P. ver Eecke, Les Oeuvres Complètes d'Archimède [called the first real translation of this author]; Review, by Walter Libby, of Friedrich Dannemann, Plinius und seine Naturgeschichte in Ihrer Bedeutung für die Gegenwart ['a readable, indeed delightful volume, with passages well chosen']; Review, by George Sarton, of Sir Thomas Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics [said to be characterized by perfect clearness of exposition, excellent order, and thoroughness].

Open Court—Jan., Lucretius on Death, T. V. Smith [a clear résumé, apparently intended for an audience unfamiliar with the subject].

Revue des Études Historiques—October-December, La Succession de Septime Sévère et le Projet de Partage de l'Empire [the author accepts as reliable the account by Herodian of a proposed division of the Empire between Caracalla and Geta, which paved the way for the division actually effected by Diocletion].

Revua Universitaire—Jan., Le Latin et les Langues Vivantes, Emile Renauld [an admirable article, in which the author dwells on the importance of prose composition, mentions the notably early and constantly growing good effects of the study of Latin on an industrious child, and dwells particularly on the point that, despite the ill-advised assertions of certain teachers that the main use of the study of Latin is to help teach French, the main purpose of the teachers of Latin should be to *teach Latin*, although, to be sure, the favorable influence incidentally exerted by the study of Latin on the formation of good French style is both enormous and unique. M. Renauld holds that, 'whatever method is followed for that purpose, *we teach Latin in order that our students may know it*, may know it as well as possible, if not to speak it—it is a "dead" language—, if not to write it—our classes no longer compose Latin verses or Latin dissertations—, at least to understand it, to appreciate it, to enjoy it in life'. Its values, like those of music or painting, are esthetic, intellectual and spiritual].

Scottish Geographical Magazine.—Jan., The Isothermal Frontier of Ancient Cities, Vaughan Cornish.

HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY, E. ADELAIDE HAHN

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

VI

America—April 22, 1922, Latin in the Colleges, P. E. Herbert.

Art and Archaeology—Feb., The Colosseum Revisited, W. N. Stearns; The Resurrection of a World: Greek Tragedies and Roman Comedies in the Amphitheatres of Syracuse and Ostia, Guido Calza; Discoveries of Works of Art in Southern Italy, 1920–1921, Salvatore Aurigemma; The Archaeology of the Maltese Islands, T. Zammit; Excavations at Zygouries, Greece, 1921, C. W. Blegen; American School at Athens Notes [comments on the plan of the Gennadeion, the new building to be erected at Athens, in connection with the American School of Classical Studies there, to house the Gennadius Library. For the latter see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.208, 16.167].—March, The Vassar College Psyche Tapestries, Elizabeth Hazleton Haight [10 illustrations]; Relief from the Themistoclean Wall at Athens, Walter Woodburn Hyde [6 illustrations].

Bibliographical Society of America, Vol. XV, Part 2 (1921)—Bibliographical Notes on the Fables of Avianus, W. A. Oldfather.

Educational Review—Feb., 1922, The Values in the Study of the Classics and Why They Are Sometimes Not Realized, Frank P. Graves.

High School Journal (North Carolina)—Jan., Latin Tests for High Schools, Harry F. Latshaw; Why Study Latin?, W. A. Pickens.

Howard University Record—March, The Question of the Origin of the Roman Satire, George M. Lightfoot.

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Kentucky High School Quarterly—Jan., 1922, What are Greek and Latin Good For?, George Ragland.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin of—Feb., A Greek Bronze Torso, G. M. A. R (ichter) [illustrated].—March, Classical Bronzes: Recent Accessions, G. M. A. R (ichter) [7 illustrations].—April, A Greek Bronze Horse, G. M. A. R. [5 illustrations. Miss Richter describes this newly purchased statuette, which is about 16 inches in height by 14 inches in length, as "without doubt artistically the most important single object in our classical collection. . ."].

The Monist—Jan., The Natural State of Man: An Historical Résumé, Harry Elmer Barnes [Professor Barnes is dealing with the problem of the state of man before the development of civilized society and the political organization of mankind. He devotes five pages to a discussion of Classical Theories of the State of Man. He is concerned here, of course, especially with the tradition of a decline from a Golden Age].

National Geographic Magazine—Feb., Daily Life in Calabria [16 illustrations in duotone; no letterpress].

Open Court—Feb., Some Phases of the Social and Political Theory of Patristic Christianity, Harry Elmer Barnes; Lucretius, Robert Louis Burgess [a poem].

School and Society—Feb. 10, The Influence of First-year Latin upon Ability to Read English, Edward L. Thorndike [". . .the superior gain for the Latins for the whole year is found to be 1.81, and for the first half year to be 1.95. . . .It thus appears that whatever caused the superior gains of the Latins was a feature of the first half-year". Professor Thorndike concluded that we must "leave the search for an explanation to be renewed when further data are available"].

Teachers College Record—Sept., Bibliography of Tests for Use in High Schools.

Le Vie d'Italia—Jan., Ostia, Emporio Commerciale dell' Impero di Roma, Guido Calza [an article of eight pages, with eight illustrations].

Washington University Studies: Vol. X, Humanistic Series, No. 1, pp. 3-102—Oct., Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan, Archer Taylor [the author, Associate Professor of German at Washington University, gives northern parallels to the story told by Plutarch, De Defectu Oraculorum 17. The author concludes that "the voice of loud lament in these northern stories is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation"].

Yale Literary Magazine—Nov., Leader, Robert C. Bates [an argument in support of the Classics as the best possible training for an undergraduate College student].

C. K.

CLASSICAL SECTION NEW YORK STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Since its meeting in Syracuse last November, the Classical Section of the New York State Teachers Association has been chiefly concerned with the organization of the courses under the Classical Reading League, and with the new departure of offering State credit for reading courses in Latin and Greek, done not in College or University, but according to the plan outlined below. The courses under the Reading League are, this year, in charge of the Classical Departments of Syracuse University. Outlines have been mailed. Copies may be had of the undersigned, or of Mr. Joseph P. Behm, Central High School, Syracuse, New York, President of the Section.

The credit-plan is in charge of a Special Committee, consisting of three College professors, Mr. Behm (ex officio), and the official of the New York State Department of Education known as the Specialist in Ancient Languages. The Committee purposes to offer courses each year as follows: in Latin, Cicero, Vergil, another Latin poet, another Latin prose author, biographies of Caesar and Cicero (one course), in Greek, First Year, Second Year (Anabasis), Third Year (Iliad).

The amount to be covered in each reading course will be 100 Teubner pages. Each course will be in charge of a College professor, who will outline the course, set the examinations, read the answer-books, and be ready to help candidates by answering questions during the period of study.

The University of the State of New York ("The Regents") will print and distribute papers and books, collect books, etc. The examinations will be held only in June, the first in June, 1924.

A fee of ten dollars per course will be charged. When four courses shall have been completed, the State Department of Education will issue a certificate of proficiency.

After September 1, 1923, full information can be had from the Chairman of the Committee, Professor D. B. Durham, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.

HIGH SCHOOL, BATAVIA, NEW YORK — MYRTA E. HUNN, *Secretary*

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF LIBERAL STUDIES

The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies held its annual open meeting at Houston Hall, University of Pennsylvania, on the evening of March 8. The evening was devoted to a Symposium on the Cultural Element in Education. Dr. Edwin C. Broome, Superintendent of Public Schools, expressed his belief that education should be adapted to the capacity of those who were to be educated. He would restrict a liberal education to those capable of profiting by it. A Superintendent, said he, is of necessity a pragmatist. Dr. Robert Mark Wenley, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan, in an eloquent and scholarly address, traced the origin and the growth of the various causes that have contributed to the present day demand for a materialistic education and to the elimination of individuality among our citizens. Miss Una Ellis Fermor, a visitor from England, advised us of the march of materialism abroad and called for a martyr to prove the superiority of the spiritual to the material. Dr. Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College, gave a more optimistic demonstration of the generous cultural element in an engineering education.

The following officers were elected for the next year: President, Professor Edward H. Heffner, University of Pennsylvania; Vice-Presidents, Dr. Francis B. Brandt, Dean Ethel H. Brewster; Treasurer, Miss Ruth B. Hoffsten; Secretary, Dr. Wilton W. Blancké.

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS — WILTON W. BLANCKE, *Secretary*

THE PROPER AIM OF THE TEACHING OF LATIN

I was much pleased with the paper by Miss Waites, entitled Latin an End in Itself, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.134. I should like to second, warmly, every word she says, especially the remark that most of the so-called 'aims' in the study of Latin as listed in the questionnaires sent out, last November, to the members of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, in advance of the Wilmington meeting, are not aims at all, but merely by-products of the study of Latin if it is

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properly taught. Conceivably some of these by-products might, with justice, be emphasized with children who can study Latin only one or two years, or, let us say, with a class of girls studying to be stenographers and wishing to improve their English. But even here there would be great danger of imitating the dog with the bone who saw his reflection in the water—namely, dropping the real thing for an unreality. Furthermore, the by-product would not be produced unless a real, even if limited, knowledge of Latin had been acquired. It seems to me that, if many teachers are going to weigh, say, the value of Latin for English literature as the chief 'aim' in studying Latin, we are going to get some odd results out of this Investigation. I have too much confidence, however, in the good sense of the average Latin teacher to believe that many will take this attitude. Good teaching will take care of that 'aim' and all the other legitimate aims. The chief aim of studying Latin is the study of Latin. If the student gets hold of the language and through it a good start towards the appreciation of the literature and the life back of it, he will thereby acquire the other things. The study of Latin is in fact a sort of a prize-package, but the student will never get the whole package if he tries merely for a handful of the pop-corn!

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE ARTHUR L. WHEELER

The reader should put beside Professor Wheeler's remarks the abstract of the article by M. Emile Renaud, Le Latin et les Langues Vivantes, which appeared in the Revue Universitaire, in January last. In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.206, under the caption Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals, Miss Hahn gives an abstract of this important article.

C. K.

ON QUESTIONNAIRES

Many will be interested in an extract from a letter which came to me recently. The writer is thoroughly familiar with the educational situation in this country. For good reasons the writer's name is not attached to the quotation, but, that the settled policy of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY may be followed—that there shall always be some one who can be held responsible for the things said—I accept as my own the views set forth in the following extract:

". . .surveys, tests, and questionnaires. . .seem to me to do an enormous amount of harm. They are sidetracking a great number of people from the all-important work of teaching. Every test is based upon the individuality of its author and therefore is to my mind no better than any other test and the best test of all is that which the teacher of the class gives. The pedagogic world seems to have gone crazy on this so-called scientific method; they send out a few thousand questionnaires and tabulate a lot of results and then make up some new-fangled language and befog the minds of the people whom these tests are supposed to help. At every big teachers' convention there is a new crop of words and that is about all. Now they have trotted out 'prognostic' and 'diagnostic' and they think they have made a great discovery. I wonder if Mark Hopkins on his log did not test his companion prognostically and diagnostically. At the <recent> Cleveland meeting of the National Education Association the new slogan was 'Extra-Curricular Activities', and you ought to have heard the people roll out the phrase, just as if they had not always had them from the days of the first school".

C. K.

MR. W. A. PICKENS ON WHY STUDY LATIN?

In the American Classical League's recent questionnaire concerning objectives, content, and methods in the teaching of Latin, there appears, among the list of objectives, "Increased ability to learn other foreign languages". The validity of this objective in Latin study is well set forth in an article entitled Why Study Latin?, in the High School Journal 6.20–21 (January, 1923. This journal is published by the School of Education, University of North Carolina). The article, by Mr. W. A. Pickens, of the Spanish Department of the University, has greater significance because it comes from a teacher of modern foreign languages.

The members of the Spanish Department of the University of North Carolina, suspecting that deficiency in modern foreign languages was influenced by lack of preparation in Latin, last fall set about the compilation of data as to the foreign language preparation which their students had received in High School. These data enabled them to classify their students as (1) Those who had had four years of Latin, 63; (2) Those who had had four years of Latin and two years of a modern foreign language, 62; (3) Those who had had a modern foreign language for one or two years, 128; (4) Those who had had no foreign language preparation at all, 17. At the end of the term the grades of all these students were averaged according to the grading-system employed at the University (1, Excellent; 2, Very Good; 3, Fair; 4, Passing; 5, Conditioned; 6, Complete Failure), with the following results: Average, 3.62; Class 1, 3.51; Class 2, 2.24; Class 3, 3.90; Class 4, 5.00. Of the seventeen students who began the study of Spanish without previous instruction in a foreign language, nine gave up before the end of the term; of the eight who took the examination, four failed completely, four received the grade of 4. The average grade was figured after excluding those who had been dropped. Mr. Pickens points out that

". . .the student with a background of four years of Latin stands an infinitely better chance of succeeding in Spanish than does he who has had no foreign language preparation at all. And he also appears to be better prepared than the one having two years of a modern foreign language besides Spanish. The difference between the Class 1 average, 3.51, and the Class 3 average, 3.90, does not look so convincing; but, when one considers that about three and a half times as many students received a 6 in Class 3 as did those in Class 1, the distinction can be more readily appreciated".

The ideal situation is, obviously, most nearly met in those who have had four years of Latin and two of some modern foreign language.

Mr. Pickens states that it is now possible to obtain an A. B. in all the larger Colleges in his State without taking Latin. He adds that at least ninety per cent of the students entering from High School do not continue Latin in College; yet every College student must have at least one year of a foreign modern language, in some cases two if he does not elect Greek and Latin. He continues thus:

". . .The direct 'utility', then, of Latin lies in the excellent preparation it affords for a modern foreign language, especially the Romance languages—French, Spanish, and Italian. If the High School teachers of the State would interest themselves in indicating to their stubborn Latin pupils the similarity in the syntax, inflections, and general grammatical principles of Latin and those of its modern language descendants, the 'immediate utility' of the seemingly dead language might be grasped and result in a revival of the classics in a more modern sense".

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Published weekly, on Mondays, except in weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, $2.00 per volume.
Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N.Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorised on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XVI, No. 27 | MONDAY, MAY 21, 1923 | WHOLE No. 450

American Classical League

Fourth Annual Meeting, Open to the Public
Held in the Natural Science Auditorium
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Saturday morning, June 30th, 1923
Promptly at ten o'clock

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Classical League will be held in the Natural Science Auditorium of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, June 30th, 1923. This meeting is open to the public. Announcement of the programme will be made later.

On Friday, June 29th, the Advisory Committee on the Classical Investigation will meet in the Michigan Union at ten o'clock in the morning and again at two o'clock in the afternoon. The Council of the American Classical League will meet in the Michigan Union Friday evening at eight o'clock.

The headquarters will be at the Michigan Union. Accommodations at reasonable rates have been arranged. Professor Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, is Chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements and all requests for reservation of accommodations should be addressed to him, or else directly to the Michigan Union, the Allenel Hotel, or the Whitney Hotel—all in Ann Arbor.

ANDREW F. WEST
President of the American Classical League

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The Classical Weekly

VOL. XVI, NO. 27 MONDAY, MAY 21, 1923 WHOLE NO. 450

A MATHEMATICIAN AND A PSYCHOLOGIST ON FORMAL DISCIPLINE

(*Concluded from page 203*)

I return now to Professor Lennes.

Of the meaning of the terms 'formal discipline', 'mental discipline', Professor Lennes writes thus (69)[4]:

. . . the problem of mental discipline may be defined as the problem of "determining under what conditions, by what methods, and to what extent training received in a given line of mental activity spreads to other lines of mental activity".

Professor Lennes then asks what results have thus far been obtained from the whole discussion of this problem.

. . .The various experimental investigations can, from their very nature, have only the most limited implication and I must say that they show transfer in cases where I should be inclined not to expect it though I believe firmly in very important and far reaching transfer.

I cannot stop to give illustrations, but I believe all agree that very important elements in the mental equipment of those who succeed are habits of industry, the power to concentrate attention for a long time, an attitude which causes its possessor to return to his problem again and again as a matter of course and with little feeling of discouragement. Can such habits be acquired through practice? They certainly can if they are really habits and not qualities that are so ingrained at birth as to be certain of complete development quite independently of environmental conditions. This latter hypothesis is so at variance with the newer psychology that it may be abandoned with no fear. Professor Dewey's [5] latest book may be regarded as an elaboration of the thesis that all habits are conditioned by environment, a statement in which the word "habit" is used in an extremely inclusive sense.

Let us put our question in concrete forms: What would be the effect of four years' earnest effort to excel in classical languages and mathematics upon one's ability to master the intricacies of banking or upon one's persistence and doggedness in the face of any other complex problem? What is the effect of four years' work in the high school and four years in the university upon the probability that one will continue to master new problems afterwards—that is, upon the probability that life will be a career instead of merely the holding down of a job? What would be the effect of writing a first class doctor's dissertation, say on education, upon one's ability to organize the advertising department of a great industry? To what extent will prolonged and intensive mental effort tend to inure one to the onerousness of mental effort? Does extensive experimentation in finding solutions of difficult problems tend to make one more enterprising and persistent in casting about for the solutions of other problems? Surely no one would pretend to find even an approach to the answers of such questions in the investigations outlined above. Moreover, it is very generally recognized that such problems cannot be studied successfully in the psychological laboratory. . . .

Our final conclusion, then, is that psychological criticism and experiments have left us very largely where we were two generations ago in regard to the fundamental question of education which we are considering—that in this field we are as free to pass common sense judgments as we ever were.

No doubt the belief that the effects of training are not transferred has been based largely, not on positive experimental evidence, but on the difficulty of formulating a theory, consonant with known facts, which should account for it. But we must not forget that psychology, especially experimental psychology, is yet in its infancy; and considering the countless millions of atoms and molecules at work in the nervous system, and the corresponding complexity of the working of the mind, the layman and even the general psychologist may be pardoned if he bases his conclusion, in considerable part at least, upon the results of that great world laboratory in which the workings of the mind as a whole have been observed for ages, and in which the qualities of the mind are inferred from its more general manifestations.

Finally it must be said that the last two decades have witnessed a change in the attitude of the psychologists. The question at issue now seems to be not whether transfer actually takes place but how it takes place.

"Not long ago, as a result of the earlier experimental studies, it was felt by many that transfer of training was present either not at all or at least in such slight amounts as to be negligible. More recently, the pendulum has certainly swung in the other direction. Experimentation has been directed less toward searching for the existence of transfer than to searching for the kind of transfer present and the conditions under which it appeared"[6].

The formulation of the theory of transfer is well under way.

Rugg says[7]:

"I believe that formal school subjects find a large part of their disciplinary value in the developing of the ability to analyze the problem and to organize methods of procedure".

Angell says[8]:

"Now no small part of the discipline which comes from effortful use of attention is to be found in the habituation which is afforded in neglecting or otherwise suppressing unpleasant or otherwise distracting sensations. . .It has been maintained that after all, the great advantage in any serious study. . .is in the creation therefrom of certain *ideals* which are as such applicable to almost any situation. Such ideals are thoroughness, accuracy, system, and the like. I believe this contention may be granted without argument". . . .

[4] The words given by Professor Lennes in quotation-marks were written by G. M. Whipple, in the Preface to a volume by H. O. Rugg, entitled The Experimental Determination of Mental Discipline in School Studies (Baltimore, Warwick and York, 1916).

[5] John Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1922).

[6] So writes Mr. Whipple in the Preface to the work referred to above, in note 4.

[7] The Psychology of Efficiency, in Archives of Psychology, No. 15.116. This is a part of Columbia Contributions to Philosophy and Psychology, 19.

[8] The Doctrine of Formal Discipline in the Light of the Principles of Psychology, Educational Review 36 (1908), 9-13.

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Thus modern analysis is pointing out the component parts of that which is carried over. These component parts are precisely what many regard as the most important results of education. "Power to maintain continued attention" and "to disregard the onerousness of mental effort", "Ability to analyze problems and to organize methods of precedure", "ideals of thoroughness, accuracy, system, and the like"—certainly no important achievement is possible without these and the possession of them will go far in insuring success. It now seems pretty generally agreed that these qualities are developed as a byproduct of all serious mental work in which they are important prerequisites for success. We are thus led to the conclusion that, besides imparting information and developing skills calculated to be effective in meeting conditions which are believed to be foreseen with a comparatively high degree of precision, it is the possibility and function of education to develop certain more general powers which enable their possessor to meet more successfully widely different and often unpredictable situations. In its practical effects this conclusion is very nearly equivalent to the old doctrine of mental discipline. It differs from this doctrine in that it finds its sanction in a deeper understanding of those elements which make such education possible.

C. K.

OBSERVATIONS ON VERGIL'S USE OF THE QUESTION

Vergil does not stand alone among Latin writers in the frequent use of the question. Readers of Cicero will readily recall long series of questions both in his Orations and elsewhere. Poetry and oratory, being often surcharged with emotion, are most likely to employ them. If they are somewhat numerous in an historian like Livy, we say it is a mark of his poetic style.

But the variety of the question in Vergil offers several points of interest. The distribution is suggestive. In a didactic poem such as the Georgics emotion is rare; questions are rare. In the Eclogues the questions are somewhat more common. The Aeneid has more than 300 questions, about one to every thirty lines. The relation of the question to emotion is obvious. Dido's speeches of reproach to Aeneas abound with questions. Emotion is at its height in her soliloquies, 4.534–552, and 4.590–630; these contain nine and six questions respectively. Anna's lament, 4.675–685, contains five questions within the space of a few lines. In 9.481–502 Euryalus's mother gives vent to her feelings in a series of six questions. Juno's highly emotional speech, 10.63–95, within a few lines shows eleven examples. Among the Eclogues the fourth is the only one without a question. The emotion is present, but it is of a more chastened sort. Vergil is likely to associate the question with unrestrained feelings; compare such comments as 2.287 *quaerentem vana*; 3.313 *furenti;* 3.344 *fundebat*. Most of the long series of questions come from feminine lips or from the untamed Turnus. Incidentally, the question seems woman's favorite device for carrying on an argument. Once, however—12.793–799—Jupiter's indignation breaks its bounds and he turns Juno's weapon upon herself in a series of six questions. Aeneid 7 and 8 are conspicuously lacking in questions, with but twelve and eight respectively. As Book 7 is commonly regarded as the least finished book and Book 8 as the most finished book of the Aeneid, we can hardly relate the number of questions to the amount of rhetorical polish the poet had bestowed upon them. Since Book 4, regarded as early and finished, has 55 questions, and Book 10, probably late and less finished, has 43 questions, there is no important difference.

Probably the most obvious use of a question is as a call for information, which requires an answer. So, when Venus asks Jupiter, 1.237 quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?, we find in 1.260 Jupiter's reply, neque me sententia vertit. Again, in 3.88 Aeneas asks the god for information, quem sequimur? quove ire iubes, ubi ponere sedes?. The question brings an answer, though couched in vague terms (3.90–98). Volcens's stern demands in 9.376–377 likewise call for a definite reply, which, on account of the peculiar circumstances, is not given. Sometimes the question itself rather than an expected answer seems designed to give the information. So, when Hector's apparition appears to Aeneas, the poet by a series of several questions supplies to us information about Hector's long absence, the consequent misfortunes of the Trojans, and his present personal condition. The question has become virtually a form. No doubt at times the poet used the question merely as the means of breaking the monotony of a tedious recital. So in 6.841 the poet secures variety in his catalogue of the unborn heroes by pointing out the next heroes through a series of questions. Practically the same thing is found in 6.808, when he aims to give the appearance of naturalness to his long discourse.

In the opening questions of Sinon's speech, a different purpose is served, namely, to call the attention of his hearers to his pitiful condition and to disarm their suspicions. The challenge to their emotions works more effectively than it would if it were presented as a statement. Certainly, the question is a part of Sinon's strategy, as 2.101 will prove, which, artfully introduced, cannot do other than arouse the curiosity of the Trojans (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.140–142).

But by far the most frequent use of the question in Vergil is to provide a convenient form for emotional expression. Some instances of this use have already been observed. When Euryalus's mother sees him dead and outraged, her questions addressed to him admit of no reply, but they very suitably express her helpless emotion. When Caicus, in 9.36, asks his fellow-citizens the meaning of the approaching *globus*, his next words, in which he calls his comrades to arms, indicate that he already knows too well its meaning. Many of the questions express reproach. So Aeneas rebukes his father in 2.658 tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?. And, when Dido's ghost flees from Aeneas in Hades, he reproaches her with a question which would be absurd, if answered. Sometimes the emotion takes form in a sort of a challenge to the will-power. No statement of fact could take the place of Creusa's

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question in 2.677–678, cui parvus Iulus, cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor?. In 4.565 this challenge becomes practically equal to a command.

The emotion expressed by the question is generally of the violent sort—jealous or helpless rage, strong reproach, the sense of great and imminent danger, or of overwhelming sorrow. Rarely is a pleasing emotion thus expressed. Exceptions may be noted in 1.582 quae nunc animo sententia surgit?, and in 1.605 quae te tam laeta tulerunt saecula?. The theme of the Aeneid is such as to make joyful emotions very rare; yet it may be that a closer examination would prove that the question belongs more appropriately to the violent than to the agreeable emotions. It is probably more than accident that the fourth Eclogue, which is full of joyful emotions, has no questions.

Occasionally Vergil employs the question to mark a crisis in the story. The strong emotion is present, but only by implication. In such a question, 12.500, he seeks fresh inspiration of the god on an occasion of great emotion. The tale of the saving of the Trojans' ships from the fire, in Book 9, involves equally great emotion, and again the poet calls upon the gods for aid in telling the story (9.77–79). Compare also 3.39. Somewhat differently, in 11.664, the poet asks Camilla herself to tell whom first and whom last she overthrew with her spear, and, just as if she had answered his question, he proceeds to record the answer. The question here was used merely to emphasize an important subject.

On many occasions the deepest thought of the poet is put in the form of questions to which he offers no answer. These have often been noted. Among them may be mentioned the following: 1.11 Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?; 1.407–408 quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis ludis imaginibus?; 3.57 quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames? (compare 4.412); 6. 719–721 o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandumst sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti corpora?; 9.185 an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?. The poet seems to be asking himself these questions as if they suggested subjects upon which he had pondered long without finding the solution. His attitude is very much like Dido's in 4. 369 ff.; she seems to forget that another is present and asks the questions introspectively. Speaking generally, we may say that this is Vergil's habit. The attitude of introspection marks most of his questions. Their frequency and their character have a relation to that unsatisfied yearning which is sometimes noted as a quality of his style. They afford a suitable vehicle for the expression of the various emotions, they add vivacity to the narrative, and they forcibly challenge the attention.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA ARTHUR L. KEITH

REVIEWS

The Pattern of the Iliad. By J. T. Sheppard. London. Methuen and Co. (1922). Pp. xi + 213. 7s., 6d.

The Iliad often baffles the general reader by its length, its extended description of similar phases of battle, and its seeming lack of coherence. For such a reader Mr. Sheppard has written this book. The volume is just the right size to hold in the hand as one reads with his feet on the fender. It is not weighted down with learned references to the work of others, nor cumbered with polemic against theories about the composition of the poem. It shortens the long narrative by selection and condensation—at least one-half of the space is taken by translated passages and the necessary liaisons between these, and the coherence of the tale is made clear by a study of its artistic design, into which the author fits the incidents of battle. The book gives the impression of having been written at a single effort, and with all the enthusiasm of one who makes a discovery in a branch of literature outside of his own field (in this case, Attic tragedy). Using familiar and intimate language, and without any attempt at literary style, the author fascinates us at the outset, and does not release us from the spell of his story till the last page is turned.

But enthusiasm and speed, not to say haste, have their drawbacks; we note not a few unevennesses and slips. "Peiroos kills Dioreus, who is killed in turn by Thoas" (42). Δαναοί is rendered now by "Danai", and again by "Danaans"; Agamemnon "stood *on* the vast black ship of Odysseus" (64), but Eris "stood *at* the great ship of Odysseus" (90), although the Greek is the same in both cases. Hector shouted that Hera (8.175: correct to 'Kronion') was with him (63). Mr. Sheppard writes that Rhesus and thirteen of his men are slain (Homer says twelve, in 10.488–495). Perhaps the most striking instance of oscitancy is the statement, thrice repeated (71, 86, 110; compare 70), that Nestor was a member of the embassy to Achilles.

The translations, which are in prose and in the simplest of modern English, but oftentimes with most apt and effective choice of words, also occasionally betray the haste of enthusiasm. We select two instances: 5.150 τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὀνείρους, "They did not go home for the old man to interpret them their dreams" (44). But the use of the present tense, and passages like 5.198 show that ἐρχομένοις must mean 'when they were leaving home'. 1.497 ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Ὀλυμπόνδε is translated by "Thetis. . .went up in a mist to heaven and to Olympus" (21). Even if Mr. Sheppard is right in following those who derive ἠέριος from ἀήρ, the other occurrences of the adjective in the Homeric poems (Iliad 1.557, 3.7, Odyssey 9.52), when taken together with their context, indicate clearly that the reference is to the haze of early morning, and that all the emphasis is laid on the time of day rather than on atmospheric conditions.

Errors like these, however, are of trifling importance when compared with the suggestiveness of the book as a whole. The Iliad, says Mr. Sheppard, is a *pattern*, and a pattern of *life*. The scenes upon the shield of Achilles depict human life, and their arrangement suggests the pattern. Starting with this anaolgy (1–10), the author unrolls the story of the Iliad as it

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were a great tapestry, with three grand divisions (he calls them "Movements"), Books 1–9, 11–17, and 19–24, and two great interludes, Book 10 and Book 18. Then follows a brief Epilogue (204–210) on the poet's view of life: "Human greatness is linked with, and is in some degree the fruit of human weakness" (204). "The tragedy of the Iliad, like the later Attic tragedies, ends in the peace not of exhaustion but of the healing of the human soul" (210). A note on the influence of Homer's technique on Aeschylus (211–213) and a brief Index conclude the book.

In the detailed exposition of the Iliad's pattern the smaller 'panels' are described, arranged in groups of threes, with countless interwoven threads and repetitions of the same idea. One meets continually Drerup's principle of "Dreizahl" and of "Einrahmung", and with constant reference to the symmetry of arrangement, so minutely studied by H. Peters (Zur Einheit der Ilias, reviewed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.205–206). As special features may be noted the interpretation of the descriptions of the minor single combats as parts of the design—a great help to the reader who is somewhat unfamiliar with the poem—, and a new treatment of the similes. Professor Drerup makes much of these as a means of 'framing' the episodes, and Herr Fraenkel, Die Homerische Gleichnisse, showed the value of constructing the 'family tree' of the similes which have the same theme. Mr. Sheppard in a certain sense combines suggestions from both these scholars: he finds in the repetition of the same theme in the little pictures a sort of cross-reference or linking thread, which helps to unify the various scenes. He also fits into the pattern, most ingeniously and convincingly, most of the instances of divine interference in the fighting. Of details in the interpretation of the poem perhaps the most original concerns the 'Testing' in Book 2. This Mr. Sheppard explains, not as a real testing of the spirit of the forces, like that employed in more modern times by Cortez, for example, but as a politic course intended to remove from Agamemnon's shoulders the responsibility for the proposed offensive, and to throw it upon his military staff. The author compares the modern propaganda of the press (27).

Coleridge declared that genius was many men in one. The Iliad shows the poetic genius of Homer by making so many kinds of appeal, and so many kinds of impressions upon different readers and in different ages. The reviewer, for example, would make more of Hector in the design of the Iliad, and cannot by any means always follow Mr. Sheppard in seeing the particular significance of an epithet or the particular reference of a simile. Yet doubtless for many all this is there. But one heartily agrees with him when he says (117): "Let us leave the critics—we shall not convince them—and turn back to Homer". This is a good motto for Homerists, and Mr. Sheppard's delightful book, the fruit of 'turning back to Homer', will do more for the poet among the English-speaking peoples of the present century than 'twenty bokes clad in'—any kind of 'wissenschaftliche' habiliments—of the Wolfians and their 'philosophye'.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT SAMUEL E. BASSETT

The Unity of Homer. By John A. Scott. Sather Classical Lectures, Volume One. Berkeley: The University of California Press (1921). Pp. 275.

This remarkable book covers, in less than three hundred very readable pages, more ground than almost any other volume on Homer of similar size. There are chapters or lectures on

I. Homer Among the Ancient Greeks (1–38); II. The Arguments of Wolf (39–72); III. The Linguistic Arguments (73–105); IV. The Antiquities and Kindred Matters (106–136); V. The Contradictions (137–171); VI. The Individualization of Gods and Heroes (172–204); VII. Hector (205–239); VIII. The Iliad and The Odyssey (240–269). The Index covers pages 271–275.

The lectures are written in a good literary style, and the enthusiasm is such as to make any intelligent person want to read the Iliad and the Odyssey. The book is constructive and optimistic and argues (269) that

> Everything fits into the theory of a single Homer: the civilization, the language, the gods, the outlines, the marks of genius; and all these are supported by the unanimous verdict of the best poets and the greatest critics of twenty-five hundred years.
>
> The evidence for the unity of the Iliad and the Odyssey is so strong that we should be compelled to postulate a single Homer even if ancient Greece had believed in many. But antiquity was united in the belief of one divine Homer, and only one.

Professor Scott has studied Homer for so many years and written so many articles on countless Homeric details that he is imbued with Homer and exemplifies himself the Homeric *energeia* and fire praised by Aristotle, Pope, Chapman, and many another. He has something of that sting that "stirs the slugged pulse like wine". You feel, as you read his book, that Homer's heroes are fifteen feet high and that the Iliad and the Odyssey are the greatest literary works in the world. Criticisms of Homer cannot justly be based on purely subjective considerations or on one's own feelings for style, for on such matters each scholar has his own opinion, and great minds differ. With all due respect to what Germany has done for the study of Homer and with great gratitude for the inspiration and suggestions I myself got from the long course of lectures on Homer which I heard Wilamowitz deliver in 1903 in Berlin, I must confess I agree with Professor Bassett's recent statement in his fascinating article on Homeric Criticism (The Sewanee Review 30[1922],392), that "the German higher criticism of Homer is like a stream which has lost itself in the sands. . .". Listen to Professor Scott (80–81):

> . . .Wilamowitz cannot reconstruct an original poem out of the existing Iliad, since he regards the present poem as for the most part the work of blunderers and blockheads, men who removed the old and the noble poetry and then substituted inferior verses of their own or of others for the great poetry of the original. These better parts were all lost as soon as they were

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removed, no one has ever quoted or referred to them, and this greatest of all losses was never suspected until discovered by the great critic in our own day. Wilamowitz has been able to give an outline of much of the better and nobler Iliad, but has modestly refrained from writing in full that greater poem which he regards as alone worthy the world's mightiest poet. It is well to observe, however, that Homer has long been regarded as the greatest of all poets not because of the poem which Wilamowitz imagines, but because of the Iliad and the Odyssey which we actually have. Homer's reputation depends on no hypothetical creation but on poetry now existing. It was because of this poetry that a man of Macaulay's vision and judgment reached the conclusion that Shakespeare alone could challenge comparison with Homer.

Or read this passage (76–77):

. . .And Wilamowitz, convinced that no great poem could be produced by a group of men, devotes his energies to attempting to prove that Homer is but wretched poetry, and he scorns the "fanatics, defenders of unity, who admire the divine Homer". The Iliad is a "miserable piece of patchwork", *ein übles Flickwerk*. He regrets that most of the really great scenes of Homer, scenes he could so easily supply, have yielded to miserable and impossible pieces of poetic absurdity.

The reviewer agrees with Professor Scott in most of his contentions, though he finds too much special pleading and considers a few points open to criticism. The chapter on Antiquities especially seems a little meager. Some arguments are overdrawn and the chapter on linguistics in particular will be hotly contested, especially by that champion of the Chorizontes, Professor Bolling, a graduate of the same Hopkins atmosphere as the Unitarian Scott. Though it may seem to be unfair to detract from the merits of such an excellent book, which has many original discoveries of Professor Scott himself, it is well to point out that some of the confident statements will probably be revised by the test of time and criticism, and perhaps to mention a few minor points. Already Professor Scott's ingenious interpretation (27–28) of the famous fragment of Aeschylus as meaning that "his own dramas were portions from Homer's great feasts", that the Homeric banquet was so lavish that Aeschylus was not reduced to crumbs (which was the previous translation), but could feast on whole courses which Homer did not use, has called forth criticism (see The Classical Journal 17.94–95). Also his idea (7) that Homer did not serve fish to his warriors because fish was in disfavor near Smyrna has already inspired Professor Fraser to write an article in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.164–165 in opposition, and Professor Max Radin to make a rejoinder to Professor Fraser, in The Classical Journal 17.461–462, to which Professor Fraser has made answer in The Classical Journal 18.240–242. That Homer came from Smyrna or from some place nearby is the belief of Wilamowitz, and I have always inclined to this view. In this connection might be mentioned the fact that Miss Goldman has recently discovered a Mycenaean 'bee-hive' tomb at Colophon, where, some say, the Homeric seer Calchas was buried, and I feel sure that more Mycenaean remains will some day be found in the neighborhood of Smyrna, to show that there was a thriving civilization there in Homeric and pre-Homeric days. Melesigenes, the second name given to Homer (7), may mean that Meles was the name of Homer's father as well as of the river. It is more probable that the river was named after Homer's father than that Homer was "regarded as the child of the river. . .". A recent writer, Wirth, in his Homer and Babylon (1920), goes so far as to say that Homer's name is Semitic.

I find considerable inconsistency in the dates which Professor Scott gives for Homer. On page 4 we read that "he lived at approximately 900 B. C."; but on page 222 Hesiod is made almost if not quite a contemporary, and on page 10 Homer is spoken of as subsequent to the twelfth century and Hesiod as hardly later than 750 B. C. There is, of course, an inconsistency in the ancient authorities, the dates for Homer ranging from 1105 to Hesiod's time. Herodotus makes Homer and Hesiod contemporaries; Ephorus and the Parian marble even date Hesiod before Homer. But a popular lecture should be consistent. The dating of Professor Scott is like making Thespis and Menander contemporaries. Nor do I know (10) how the discoveries at Troy and Mycenae show that Troy was destroyed during the twelfth century. On page 13 it is stated that writers of the best period quote the Iliad or the Odyssey with the regular form "as Homer says in the Iliad" or "as Homer says in the Odyssey". But it is very usual to quote the early subject-divisions of the Iliad or the Odyssey rather than to mention the whole. So Thucydides (1.9) quotes the title of the section 'The Handing Down of the Scepter'.

The arguments (15 ff.) about the non-attribution of the Thebais to Homer and about the passage in Pausanias 9.9.5, where Professor Scott opposes the emendation to Callinus, are inconclusive (see Pitch, Classical Philology 17.37–43; Scott, *ibid.*, 17.358–360). Antigonus of Carystus seems to ascribe to Homer the Thebais and the Hymn to Hermes. Thucydides (3.104. 4) ascribes to Homer the Hymn to the Delian Apollo; Proclus refers the Cypria to Homer, as Herodotus 2. 117 indicates that some believed in his day. Nor is the 'Contest between Homer and Hesiod', in which Homer is definitely connected with the Thebais, necessarily as late as Hadrian, since it occurs in a third century B. C. papyrus (Petrie Papyri XXV). The 'Contest' surely existed in much the same form four hundred years earlier than Hadrian. Professor Scott follows (32) the common opinion in despising the Cyclic poems, but the fact that they were inferior to the Iliad and Odyssey does not make them trash. It seems a little foolish to speak of "The utter collapse of the creative epic spirit as shown in the poetry of the Epic Cycle. . ." (243). How about Panyassis? How about some of the fragments of other epics which are preserved? On page 47, we read that ". . .Excavations show that in the vicinity of Athens was an important center of Mycenaean culture. . .". Why not state that Mycenaean remains exist on the Athenian acropolis itself? The statement (69, n.7), that "The sound of digamma was practically dead in Asia Minor at least

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by the year 700 B. C.. . .", quoted from H. W. Smyth, Greek Dialects, 389, ought to be modified, now that the digamma has been found in papyrus fragments of Sappho. That life-sized images of the gods were created long before the sixth century (121) is shown by the discovery at Prinias in Crete of a statue of the colossal seated goddess which some date as early as the eighth or the early seventh century B. C. (Bollettino d'Arte, 1908). That Paris is "rather glad to be rid of his virtuous brother" is a rash conjecture (173) based probably on Priam's scolding him together with eight of his other sons, and Hellus's sharp speech in Iliad 24.767 ff. It might be well to state (182) that in general it is a characteristic of all the best Greek literature, and not merely of Homer, to describe characters in broad lines and to refrain from giving minute details of figure or appearance. That Homer first put together the names of Hector and his family, except Paris (239), seems to me unlikely, if Agamemnon and Menelaus are traditional names (Professor S. E. Bassett, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.19–20, however, accepts Professor Scott's theory). To say (240) that "We know nothing of Homer's sources. . ." is too sweeping a statement, since we now have abundant archaeological sources and we even know something from later literature and from the Iliad and the Odyssey themselves about his sources. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of the Odyssey are a reflection of the voyages of early traders in the Pontus, and the Argonautic expedition probably existed in Carian and Ionian versions. Professor Scott himself says (250), "In the Odyssey Homer took a tale of wanderings and adventures which might have spread over many years. . .". It is a somewhat hasty inference to say (260) that

> . . .the simple fact that the poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey felt it necessary to point out in advance the course of the story, and that he did not assume that it was already known, is a strong indication that the plot was not the gift of tradition, but the independent creation of the poet himself.

Could not Homer have done as the tragic poets later did, who utilized the traditional myths? And think of Euripides's prologues.

But enough. Let us not pick out individual statements to criticize. The book is full of good things, even if individual sentences are open to criticism. Professor Scott has done as much as any Homeric scholar to swing the pendulum to the opposite extreme from that of the year 1897 when I, as an undergraduate at Chicago, heard the statement of Professor Seymour which Professor Scott quotes (78), that "he knew of no competent scholar who believed in the unity of Homer". To-day, nearly every archaeologist is convinced of it, and the few literary men who know no archaeology and are still unbelievers must all eventually come to the same conclusion. Most of the greatest literature has inconsistencies, but inconsistent details do not necessarily destroy unity.

I have tested Professor Scott's Unity of Homer in my course on Greek literature, in which I devote twelve weeks to Homer, and the students of literature and history like to read it so well that we have been obliged to put a dozen copies on our reference shelf. Professor Scott's book will make men and women grow fonder and fonder of Homer day by day. When the question was put to six prominent Princeton professors from different departments "What ten books would you choose to take with you, if you were destined to spend the rest of your life on a desert island?", five chose Homer's Iliad and Odyssey (preferably the latter), and most put Homer second or third, with the Bible first, and Professor Conklin (biologist), Professor Kennedy (Professor of English), Professor Gauss (Professor of Modern Languages) ranked Homer's Odyssey ahead of Shakespeare.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY DAVID M. ROBINSON

Essays and Studies in Honor of Margaret Barclay Wilson, Teacher, Physician, Librarian, Author. New York: Columbia University Press (1922). Pp. 151.

This volume was presented to Dr. Margaret Barclay Wilson in commemoration of her thirty-fifth year of connection with Hunter College, New York City. It contains contributions from her pupils and friends on various topics. Among these are papers on the American Coal-Tar Chemical Industry, by Frederick E. Breithut, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, College of the City of New York (4–11); The Federal Organization for Education, by Samuel P. Capen, now Chancellor of the University of Buffalo (12–21); The Medical Education of Women in the United States, by Annie Sturges Daniel, Physician in Charge, Tenement House Service, New York Infirmary for Women and Children (24–39); Compulsory Education in New York City, by John W. Davis, Director, Bureau of Attendance, Board of Education, City of New York (40–46); etc.; and three papers of special interest to the classicist.

Professor Helen H. Tanzer, writing on Juvenal on Education (97–103), gathers together the poet's comments on the Schools and the educational system of his day. Professor G. M. Whicher, in an article entitled The Roman Stone (Red Porphyry) (104–122), finds among the marbles of which Imperial Rome was so fond one which particularly deserves its late name of "Lapis Romanus". This is the red or purple porphyry, found in a single quarry in Eastern Egypt. He traces the extent of the Roman and later use of this stone and its associations in history and literature, illustrating with many anecdotes, the truth of which he wisely declines to guarantee, but which give new significance to the stone for every visitor to Rome. Professor Talcott Williams, in a paper entitled Greek and Teaching (123–135), raises his voice again in the cause of the Classics, especially urging prospective teachers to study Greek.

One envies Dr. Wilson the range of interests in life that she must possess. Such a tribute as this is a sure reward for a life of devotion and faithful service.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH EVAN T. SAGE

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Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy. By H. Stuart Jones. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch (1920). Pp. 39.

This, the inaugural lecture by the Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford University, is essentially a discussion, in the light of a recently published Berlin papyrus, of the powers of the Roman official in Egypt known as the Idios Logos, or Idiologus. This new document (Berliner Griechische Urkunden V, i = P. M. Meyer, Juristische Papyri, Nr. 93) is an abridgement of part of the Gnomon, or code of regulations, of the department of the Idios Logos, an abridgement made by the village clerk of Theadelphia, in 149 A. D. Professor Jones accepts Plaumann's definition of the Idios Logos, i. e. the department over which the likenamed officer presided and from which he took his name, as a "special account" to which fell "all revenues not derived from regular taxation". This explains why the Idiologus assumed charge of *bona vacantia* and *caduca*, punished by fines and confiscations all infringements of the laws regulating the privileges and the obligations of the six social and juristic classes of the population of Egypt, and exacted monetary penalties from the various orders of the Egyptian priesthood for breach of ecclesiastical rules. In short, the department of the Idiologus was a "finished instrument of fiscal oppression". The author advances good reasons for holding, contrary to the generally accepted view, that the Idiologus was not identical with the High Priest of Alexandria and Egypt, at least until the time of the Severi. However, he suggests that the bureaucratic reforms of Septimius Severus lessened the sphere of competence of the Idiologus, who was henceforth mainly concerned with ecclesiastical affairs and so found his office regularly combined with that of the High Priest. Incidentally, the Gnomon reveals the principles of Roman law in process of adaptation to local Egyptian conditions and shows some unexpected omissions in the Institutes of Gaius.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN A. E. R. BOAK

PROFESSOR SAGE ON THE TEACHING OF CAESAR

In the Latin Department News Letter, issued at the University of Pittsburgh, by Professor Sage, for December 10, 1922, there occur several paragraphs with respect to the teaching of Caesar which seem to me worthy of reproduction here. They run as follows:

"In the last number of The News Letter I noted some points that can, in my judgment, be emphasized in the teaching of Caesar. I commented particularly on the importance of Caesar's work in opening up a new area for civilization and in saving Roman civilization from destruction. I wish now to remind teachers of the intrinsic importance of the territory which Caesar won. It reached from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, from the Alps to the ocean. It contains, therefore, the nations that have made history, with few exceptions. The present inhabitants of these countries are not the descendants of those with whom Caesar fought, but the civilization which Caesar and his successors brought into Gaul is the civilization which is still there. As Tacitus said, Caesar merely revealed Britain to the Romans, but even Anglo-Saxon culture shows many Roman elements. How much of the long struggle for control of the left bank of the Rhine is due to the fact that Rome finally set her frontier there? What would the world have been like had the Romans succeeded in making the Elbe their frontier, as they planned?

Again, the Gallic war played a great part in Caesar's career, and Caesar's career is a dominating factor in world history. It gave him the material resources, the army, and the confidence in himself that carried him victor through the war with Pompey. I suspect that it did even more, though this is hard to prove: Caesar was the first Roman to display any genuine interest in the provinces, and to admit that a provincial had rights that a Roman should respect. His extensions of citizenship, his interest in municipal administration, the favor shown by him to provincials all indicate his intelligent and sympathetic care for the provincials.

Caesar is one of the few personalities of Rome, and one of the world's great men. We have a chance to study at first hand an important episode in his career. There are few more thrilling war stories in history than the final struggle at Alesia, and no one can read that description without realizing more clearly than before the force of Caesar's character and his power over men".

C. K.

GIFT TO NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY IN AID OF THE HUMANITIES

In School and Society 17.434 (April 21, 1923), there was a reference to a joint meeting of the Trustees of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and the Faculty of that institution. At this meeting the President of the University, Dr. Walter Dill Scott, made the following announcement:

"An anonymous citizen of Chicago has created a unique endowment at Northwestern University, established in the interests of the 'humanities'. On June 1, 1923, he will turn over to the University $100,000 as a perpetual endowment. The income from this is to accrue to the benefit of that professor who, in the estimate of the University, has made the 'greatest contribution to learning in the humanities'.

Advance in civilization is not due so much to happy accident as it is to research and to constructive imagination. It takes less imagination to see the value of chemistry and physics than it does to see the value of literature and philosophy. Many benefactors are willing to encourage the teaching of the natural sciences who see no value in the teaching of the humanities. The results of the teaching of the natural sciences are direct and apparent. The results of the teaching of the humanities are indirect and intangible".

C. K.

MR. FRANKLIN'S STUDY OF PROFESSOR THORNDIKE'S WORD BOOK

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.114 Mr. E. Earle Franklin reports the results of an analysis of the last 5,000 words of Professor Thorndike's list of 10,000 (an actual count shows 10,011) words. These words are those most commonly found in a large amount of written English. Mr. Franklin analyzed the last 5,000 as to derivation, on the assumption that a pupil entering the Junior High School would have a vocabulary of 5,000 words and that the second 5,000 in Professor Thorndike's list would be the words which he would have to learn in his School work. There are several fallacies in this assumption which I should like

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to point out, as they vitiate Mr. Franklin's conclusions.

In the first place, even if we were to grant that the Junior High School pupil has a vocabulary of approximately 5,000 words, neither considerably larger nor smaller, it does not follow that it will be even approximately the first 5,000 words in Professor Thorndike's list, in spite of the large amount of reading on which that list is based.

But more serious is the assumption that the passive vocabulary of the Junior High School pupil is limited to 5,000 words. Indeed, Professor Knapp suggests that it may be even smaller. But every study made has shown that both the active and the passive vocabularies of children and adults are much larger than we suspect. Numerous careful studies show that the active vocabulary of ordinary three year old children sometimes is well over 2,000. Many such studies have been published in the Pedagogical Seminary and elsewhere. These, I think, are more pertinent than those mentioned by Professor Cooper in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.152. My colleague, Professor Ernest Horn, who has made exhaustive studies in children's vocabularies and word-lists, estimates that what we may call the semiactive vocabulary of a twelve year old child consists of 30,000 words! This estimate was based on the ability of children to define isolated words, an ability which depends on a much more active knowledge of words than passive recognition in a context. It is possible that Professor Horn's estimate is a little too high, but this is not likely in view of the size of the active vocabularies of younger children as determined by observation over and over again. It is quite clear in any case that the assumption on which Mr. Franklin based his study is impossible and therefore his results are negative and disappointing.

It is not so surprising, therefore, as Mr. Franklin apparently thought it, that the percentage of words of Latin origin in the various groups of the last 5,000 in Professor Thorndike's list is about the same. The percentage is probably about the same for the first 5,000. I have no figures on this, but, in The Classical Journal 18.82 ff. (November, 1922)[1], I showed that 46.8 per cent of the entire Thorndike list of 10,011 were of Latin origin. These figures are practically the same as Mr. Franklin's for the last 5,000, though it is to be remembered that they were differently made, as the Oxford New English Dictionary was consulted by me in the case of doubtful words, whereas Mr. Franklin used Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. Besides, he did not credit to Latin, as I did, those words of Latin derivation whose origin is not easily apparent. In interpreting these figures it is to be remembered that a very large part of Professor Thorndike's material was taken from the Bible and from children's literature. With all this in mind, it seems to me that the percentage of words of Latin origin in the Thorndike list is surprisingly large.

It is obvious that the simple words which we learn in childhood are largely Anglo-Saxon[2], though this number is not so great as I had believed. In the above-mentioned article I showed that the vocabulary of a certain four-year old child included 2,346 words, of which 20.6 per cent were of Latin origin, a much larger percentage than I had supposed possible. At the age of six, this child had acquired 1,134 additional words, 37.7 per cent of which were of Latin origin. No doubt the new words learned beyond that age are increasingly of Latin origin, so that at the age of twelve the new words must be overwhelmingly of that origin.

Let it not be thought that the rôle of Latin in helping English is unimportant just because the student's vocabulary is as large as indicated above. In the first place, Latin makes the meanings of words already known much clearer and transfers many of them from the passive to the active list. In the second place, the student must acquire so large a passive vocabulary that he will understand practically all the words in the reading which he will do. It is not a question here of making a grade of 75 per cent, but of making nearly 100 per cent. There is therefore plenty of opportunity for the Latin to function in the case of the thousands of new words which the student will meet.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA B. L. ULLMAN

[1]This article has a bearing onthe points raised by Professors Cooper and Knapp in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.151-152.

[2]In the use of this term I want to register a friendly disagreement with Professor Cooper and almost all other eminent English scholars. I think that it is a pity that they have adopted 'Old English' as the name for what used to be called 'Anglo-Saxon'. The term English ought to be reserved for the language which resulted from the fusion of Germanic and Latin (Romance) elements. The earlier language is a foreign language to us, even more foreign than Latin, and it is misleading to call it English.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME AMERICAN ACADEMY

It is the practice of the Professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies at Rome (part of the American Academy in Rome) to send each month to Mr. C. Grant La Farge, the Secretary of the American Academy, whose office is in New York City, a letter giving information concerning the activities of the School. The letter of Professor Frank, who is in charge this year of the School, dated December 1, 1922, contains a paragraph which is well worth reproduction here, because it sets forth, strikingly, the extraordinary opportunities which the students of the School are privileged to enjoy.

"On our topographical excursions in and about Rome the Italian Archaeologists have been exceedingly generous in guiding and instructing us at the sites of excavations. Commendatore Boni spoke, in English, on the Palatine Victory, and opened all closed doors to us. Director Giglioli, of the Villa Giulia Museum, sent us Inspector Malavolta to direct us over the temple site of Veii, and later unlocked the store-room of his museum for the Fellows of the School. Professor Mengarelli devoted almost a whole day to explaining the tombs which he has cleared at Cervetri. Inspector Calza gave us an afternoon, lecturing on the recent finds at Ostia. Professor Dall' Osso not only conducted us about the excavations at Monte Mario, but a few days later opened for us the store-room of the National Museum which contains the new material from the site. Prince Torlonia, at Director Stevens's request, permitted the students of the Academy to visit his extensive collection, and Senator Lanciani spoke to us there of his discoveries at Porto, which constitute a considerable part of the collection. Director Nogara, of the Vatican Museum, has volunteered to speak at the School, in December, on The Etruscans. For such liberality on the part of very busy men we are exceedingly grateful".

Under date of March 18, Professor Frank wrote as follows:

". . .We had two excellent lectures on the Erechtheum and one on the engineering problem of the Laurion mines by Director Stevens, a memorable talk by Franz Cumont, on his recent explorations in Mesopotamia, a fascinating morning with Walter Amelung, who showed the remarkable fragments which he has discovered under a century of dust in the cellars of the Vatican, three illustrated talks, about Roman decorative art, by Professor Lugli, excursions with Director Munoz to S.Cecilia, S. Sabina, and S. Prassede, and Professor Calza's discussion of the construction of Roman dwelling houses".

C. K.

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[1]Prepared by Charles Knapp.

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